

# Monatshefte

FÜR DEUTSCHEN UNTERRICHT,  
DEUTSCHE SPRACHE UND LITERATUR

Official Organ of the German Section of the Modern Language  
Association of the Central West and South

Volume XLII

October, 1950

No. 6

## MUSIC IN GOETHE'S LIFE \*

GUIDO KISCH

*New York College of Music*

The Goethe Bicentenary has been the occasion for the appearance of a host of new Goethe books. Goethe has been celebrated as poet, artist, philosopher, scientist and man; virtually every aspect of the life of this incomparable genius has been explored anew and appraised in the light of contemporary knowledge. One thing in Goethe's life, however, has had little heed paid to it, although it surrounded him literally from the cradle to the grave; a thing that exercised a fascination and great power over him as boy, youth, grown man and ancient, and whose claim he almost daily acknowledged in the midst of his literary work, of his official duties, in his private and in his social life — music. Goethe's collection of music — for the most part manuscripts by composers of his time and musical scores of his poems, now in the Landesbibliothek at Weimar — fill two bookcases. The literature on "Goethe and Music" makes up a small library in itself. Most of it has to do with Goethe's attitude to music, or the attitude of musicians to Goethe and his work. Neither of these subjects shall concern us tonight. As a historian I shall rather attempt to answer the following questions: What relations had Goethe with music during his lifetime, and what role did music play in Goethe's life? To the teacher of German in this college there is naturally a special interest attached to Goethe's *Lieder* and to the men who set them to music.

Goethe himself was no practicing musician; this fact anthropologists will be inclined to attribute to the absence of any special musical gift in his forebears. On Goethe's mother's side, it is true, there was Georg Philipp Telemann (1681-1767), who for a time was considered Germany's greatest musician; but no blood relationship existed between the two. Goethe's father played the flute and the lute, not with any great facility, nor, happily, too often. The young Frau Rat liked to play the piano and sing Italian and German songs to her own accompaniment. She still took lessons from an old Italian language teacher, who at times

\* Address delivered at the Goethe Bicentenary Celebration of the New York College of Music on December 7, 1949.

sang duets with her. The boy would listen closely, and in this way came to know Italian songs by heart before he understood the meaning of the words. On Sundays in church he heard congregational singing, organ music and choral recitals. There were also some professional singers in the choir, for Frankfurt was a rich community. The texts of the music were printed and handed out to the churchgoers at the door. The boy read them through emulously, thought he could do as well, and wrote some religious poems. The young poet did not doubt that his texts deserved to be set to music and sung for the edification of the congregation. So he himself tells us in his memoirs, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. In the same work he also tells us how it came about that he insisted on taking music lessons. Of the concerts that Goethe heard at 14, one stuck in his memory for the rest of his life — that which seven-year-old Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart gave in Frankfurt in 1763. During the Seven Years' War the French occupied Goethe's native city for almost four years. It was then that he made the acquaintance of French and Italian operettas and himself wrote the libretto of an opera. *La sposa rapita*, it was called; in maturer years he consigned the manuscript to the flames.

At 16 Goethe went to Leipzig to study law. He stayed there three years, pursuing his interest in the arts more zealously than his professional studies. "Little Paris", as Leipzig was called, enjoyed a musical life even livelier than Frankfurt's, and by chance the young student fell in with a family occupying a central position in the Leipzig musical world, the Breitkopfs, who deserved so well for their publication of musical scores. Under Johann Adam Hiller the "Great Concerts" (afterwards called the Gewandhaus Concerts) flourished. Then as later, they were regular and important social events. In Leipzig Goethe witnessed the beginnings of the German operetta and himself composed a number of songs, most of them in the then prevailing humorous Gallic mode. It hardly needs remarking that the young man would have liked very much having his songs set to music by some capable composer. His friend Breitkopf was his earliest musical collaborator. In 1769 they published some twenty songs, to which no notice was paid, however. In 1770-71 Goethe continued his studies at Strassburg. There he took lessons in the cello, but on the whole music remained in the background. It was as a poet that the law student gained in stature. His new poems were songs through and through; they must have been an incitement to every composer. But so rich were they in cadence and harmony that there was scarcely any need for notes; for they had not first taken shape in the mind, but had sung themselves from their very inception. This is the period in which he wrote such songs as "Wie herrlich leuchtet mir die Natur," or, following the example of a folk song, "Es sah ein Knab' ein Röslein stehn."

The next four years Goethe spent in his native city and in the beautiful countryside round about, where the Rhein, Main and Lahn

rivers greet hoary towns, villages, castles and farms in passing. By profession Goethe was a lawyer, according to his father's wish, but his real life was that of a poet. He wrote a large number of poems of varying length, in addition to his first great drama, *Götz*, and his first novel, *Werther*. Goethe had become a singer. Springtime and sunshine, the sorrow and sweetness of love, first awakened his voice, but when bad weather succeeded the good he did not cease to sing. Many of his songs were such that they must have tempted others to join in or to sing in imitation — "Meine Ruh ist hin, mein Herz ist schwer," "Ach neige, du Schmerzenseiche, dein Antlitz ab zu meiner Not." Later they found a place in *Faust*. At this time he also wrote the "König in Thule." But the enamoured young man's most heartfelt songs — "Herz, mein Herz, was soll das geben, was bedrängt dich so sehr?" or "Aug', mein Aug', was sinkst du nieder? Gold'ne Träume kommt ihr wieder?" — remained mere individual sheets of paper, deprived of the music that should have bodied them forth. Once again the young poet looked about for a capable musical collaborator. The composer he had in mind was the finest one of all: the Ritter Gluck. Friends carried Goethe's request to the master, but the latter peevishly replied that he had no time to spare. Johann André of Offenbach was Goethe's first real musical collaborator; he wrote the music for the comedy *Erwin und Elmire*, which, though it was written in prose, contained a great many songs and airs. Between 1775 and 1782 the play was put on twenty-one times in Berlin; it enjoyed the greatest success of any of Goethe's operettas. Goethe made great strides forward in his understanding, though not in his practice, of music. In *Werther* he made the following avowal: "Thinking of how a simple song catches hold of me, I say there is nothing that the ancient magic of music could not accomplish."

From November 7, 1775 Goethe's residence was Weimar. His first official post was adviser to the Duke; later he was made minister in charge of cultural affairs, with particular emphasis, after 1791, on the theatre, which included the opera, for in those days the same performers who acted in plays also sang operatic parts. Weimar was a poor provincial court town of 6,000 inhabitants, but located in Thuringia, where musicians abound. In the seventeenth century Christoph Bach had been organist and town musician there. A grandson of his, Johann Sebastian Bach, had been organist in the Schloßkirche and conductor of the court orchestra from 1708 to 1717. Bach had passed the happiest period of his life in Weimar, where he composed many of his finest cantatas, organ- and piano-pieces. He trained up proficient musicians, thus creating a musical tradition which the widowed Duchess Amalie in particular was zealous to preserve. Every home into which Goethe sought admittance echoed to the sounds of the piano, the violin, the flute or some other instrument. In the beginning it is likely that he sat down once or twice at Wieland's piano, to dispel an oppressive thought perhaps. But he had

not brought his cello with him and soon there was an end to any playing of his own. At the time he could hardly have suspected how much he thus gave up, how dependent from then on he would be on others in everything that concerned music. Once again he was looking for a composer of force and talent. He thought he had found him in his countryman Christoph Kayser, a composer and pianist of middling gifts living in Zürich. Goethe prophesied a great future for him, furthered his artistic education, and entrusted to him his operettas to set to music. Apart from a few songs, however, the best known of which are "Der du von dem Himmel bist" and "An den Mond," the only opus that he got to finish was the operetta *Scherz, List und Rache*.

As closest friend of the young Prince and of the art-minded Dowager Duchess, Goethe had now and then to play the part of theatre director. After the founding of the court theatre, this task was given him officially, and until 1817 it kept him constantly involved in musical affairs. Weimar's musical life was in his charge and he did not take his duty lightly. One would have to review the entire history of the public performance of music in Germany, especially of the opera, to measure Goethe's contribution to its development. In 1778 oratorios were already heard in Weimar, Händel's great works were being played, and the Italian opera bouffe was introduced in the German language. Performances were given of Mozart's favorite operas, *Don Juan*, *Zauberflöte*, *Entführung aus dem Serail*, *Hochzeit des Figaro*, of Gluck's *Iphigenie auf Tauris*, Cherubini's *Watercarrier*, and also of the old operettas of Paesello, Cimarosa, Martini, Grétry and others. From the opening of the Weimar court theatre in 1791 to Goethe's retirement in 1817 there were 600 works performed, of which 104 were operas and 31 "Singspiele" or operettas. Mozart's *Zauberflöte* was given 82 times, *Don Juan* 68 times, the *Entführung* 49 times. All this musical activity was naturally a spur to Goethe's own creative work. I have already mentioned his comic opera, *Scherz, List und Rache*. He had always wanted to write the text for some great work of music; but this, before he came to write the *Faust*, he was never able to do; the external stimulus and encouragement were wanting.

The lives of Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert and Carl Maria von Weber ran their course between the dates of Goethe's birth and death. And yet it was never given to the greatest German poet, more of whose works were set to music than any other poet's (there are about one hundred different musical versions of the "Erlkönig" alone), to work in intimate cooperation with a composer of equal genius. All his life Goethe was on the lookout for such a man, but it never occurred to him that Mozart, for example, might be the one. Goethe was much too closely tied up with other composers for whom such greatness was far beyond their reach.



Since the middle of the eighteenth century musicians of note in Berlin had been speaking out in favor of the simple song. The melody had to be easily understood, it had to omit those trills and appoggiaturas which had been the rule till then, and it had to be complete in itself — able, that is, to please even without accompaniment. This program gained strength and currency with its espousal in the work of such capable musicians as Reichardt, Schulz and Zelter. These composers subordinated themselves to the poet in a fashion even more decided than Gluck's. In their view the composer was servant to the poet and the poem. Reichardt, who worshipped Goethe, called the composer the poet's singing mouthpiece. "My melodies are invariably born out of repeated readings of the poem, without my deliberately seeking them out," he said. And "the singer must read the words over beforehand, and must keep reading them over until he feels that he is reading them correctly, and only then begin to sing." Basically this was Zelter's view as well. He knew, as he once wrote to Goethe, that it was not his job to invent new melodies, but rather to catch those melodies which hovered unconsciously before the poet. "In the case of your music I immediately feel that it is at one with my songs," Goethe wrote Zelter in 1820, going on to say: "Like gas, the music merely carries the balloon up into the air. With other composers I have first to see how they have taken the poem, what they have made of it." Here we have both the kernel of the problem and its solution. The favored geniuses among the composers made something new out of Goethe's poems; entirely new works of art sprang from their imaginations. Beethoven and Schubert made Goethe's poems into something different from what he himself had intended. Music seemed once more to be asserting its ancient ascendancy over what it regarded as no more than the raw material of the poet's words. Goethe had sent his poems forth into the world as finished, independent, living works of art. It must have been disconcerting to him to meet the children of his fancy arrayed in strange clothing. In his conception the composer had to serve the poet, as the poet for his part subordinated himself to the composer. Here we probably have one of the real reasons for Goethe's lack of understanding of Beethoven's work. To a lesser degree, the meeting of the two spiritual heroes in Teplitz in 1812, of which various and partly inauthentic stories are recorded, might have had an effect on Goethe. According to another view, this failing of the poet's arose from his instinctive recognition of a perilous similarity and deep affinity between Beethoven's music and his own work; this unwelcome recognition accounts for the persistent coldness, antipathy even, he showed to Beethoven, despite all the love and reverence the latter felt for him. True, the composer still chose to believe that he could play games with the forces of chaos, heedless whether he won or lost; yet the poet had employed the best energies of his youth in the same enterprise. It was only later on in life that he had turned

away from everything elemental, turbulent, tragical-Dionysian — away from everything that partook of the dynamic qualities of music — toward the beneficent and tranquillizing realm of the rational and the plastic, toward the static norms of life, art and knowledge. Be this as it may, the world can be thankful that it was given a Goethe, and that a Beethoven and a Schubert used his work in their music and infused it with their own spirit.

The Reichardts and the Zelters, too, within the limits of their conceptions and abilities, produced creative works of value, some of them even of enduring value. At late as 1847, after a performance in the Leipzig Gewandhaus of Mozart's and Reichardt's musical versions of the "Veilchen", no less a person than Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy pronounced the latter's to be the finer of the two. At the end of the eighteenth century Reichardt was the most famous of the composers of songs. In the widely current *Mildheimisches Liederbuch*, 67 of the airs were by Reichardt, 32 by Hiller, 3 by Zelter, and 1 by Mozart. Goethe's "Veilchen" and "Mailed" were represented in the music of Reichardt. Yet a contemporary music historian and critic, Johann Friedrich Rochlitz, had already observed that Reichardt (and this applies to Zelter and others as well) had a better intellectual than emotional grasp of the poems he set to music. This was plainly to be seen in the fact that all the stanzas of the poems, even in the case of lengthy ballads, had the same melody. It was left to the singer to introduce individual shadings into the different stanzas. Schiller was entirely satisfied with Zelter's treatment of his "Taucher" in this fashion. When Wieland heard Zelter's version of Goethe's "Der Gott und die Bajadere", he said "that he had thought it impossible for the same melody to be repeated so often without becoming tiresome. But now he saw that on the contrary it was more effective for just that reason." When Goethe heard "Kennst du das Land?" in the version of the Bohemian music teacher and composer, Wenzel Tomaschek, he said: "I cannot conceive how Beethoven and Spohr could have so completely misunderstood the poem as to vary the melody throughout." Goethe insisted that the same melody be retained for every stanza; in that way the ascendancy of the words, *his* words, would be secured. However, even Reichardt and Zelter would occasionally vary the melody, following the changes of thought and atmosphere within the poem.

Goethe once said: "I am no judge of music, for I lack the knowledge of the means it uses to achieve its ends; all I can speak of is the effect it makes on me when I give myself up to it completely and continually." This he did abundantly during his life. In Goethe's own words, "this pleasure, with which nothing can compare, he tried to obtain for himself as often as he could" (*Wilhelm Meister*). Almost every musician of eminence and note visited Weimar and met with a cordial and understanding reception from the much-sought-after poet.

Many of them expressed astonishment at Goethe's knowledge of music. It is well known with what enthusiasm the child prodigy, Felix Mendelssohn, then a student of Zelter's, was first received in Goethe's house in 1821, and repeatedly thereafter. "You are my David," the aging poet once said to him; "whenever I feel depressed and ill-at-ease, come and banish my troubled dreams with your playing." Goethe the Privy Councillor for many years had his own house orchestra, whose performances gave him much pleasure. He was especially interested in singing.

Ach, wie traurig sieht in Lettern,  
Schwarz und Weiß das Lied mich an,  
Das aus deinem Mund vergöttern,  
Das ein Herz zerreißen kann.

Lass die Saiten rasch erklingen  
Und dann sieh ins Buch hinein:  
Nur nicht lesen, immer singen!  
Und ein jedes Blatt ist dein.

And again:

Im Zimmer wie im hohen Saal  
Hört man sich nimmer satt,  
Und du erfaßt zum ersten Mal,  
Warum man Ohren hat.

Two types of song Goethe preferred to all others and cultivated in his own home: the sprightly little air, which Zelter was particularly adept at writing, and religious music, which addresses itself to the eternal. In Italy he had already recognized that in singing everything depends upon the singer. It was a matter of importance to him, then, to acquire the best singers for the Weimar theatre. He himself often gave pointers to the singers, and once during a rehearsal, when he could not be satisfied with the rendition of "Das Wasser rauscht, das Wasser schwoll," he sang it himself and showed the singer the appropriate gestures. Thus he advised not only composers but performers as well. He considered singing a kind of musical declamation. The promotion of the art of speaking was as important to Goethe the poet as it was to Goethe the theatre director. He was undoubtedly right when he remarked that speech, too, could achieve a wealth of effects. "The song must return to using simple speech if it wants to be meaningful and affecting to the highest degree; all the great composers have already observed this," Goethe once remarked in a conversation with his friend Knebel. Think, for example, of the final words in Goethe's "Fischer": "und ward nicht mehr gesehen," or in the "Erlkönig": "das Kind war tot."

A mind such as Goethe's, to whom music meant so much in life, must also have given some attention to its scholarly side. At one time in Italy Christoph Kayser had instructed him in the history of music; later

the great philologist Friedrich August Wolf discussed the music of antiquity with him, and Zelter made Palestrina, Bach and Händel alive to him. Goethe had himself sketched out a portion of the history of music in the notes of his translation of Diderot's *Rameau's Nephew*. Nor did he ignore the theory of music. Ernst Chladni, the most famous acoustician of the time, had excited Goethe's interest with his theory of sound and with two new instruments of his own invention, the euphonium and the clavicylinder. He was pleased to find that Chladni's theory of acoustics noted phenomena akin to those described in his own theory of colors. In the course of his scientific investigations Goethe had given a good deal of thought to the physical basis of music in the human being, to the voice, the throat and the ear. In fact, he had drawn up the plan of a complete theory of sound of his own, which he intended to work out when the opportunity offered. In it provision had been made for a theory of singing, of acoustics, of rhythm, of the musical scale, of key, etc. As late as 1827 he had a written copy made of it on a large sheet of paper which he put up on the wall of his bedroom over the washstand.

So we see that music was a source of pleasure to Goethe all his life, as an eager listener, as the favorite poet of great and numerous composers, and as a profound scientist. But Goethe was also a great musician in his own field, a conductor too, and, finally, a composer, one of those composers who improve the construction of their instrument and add to its power and possibilities. His instrument was the German language. The stolid and clumsy German language he made supple and light-footed. With conscious purpose he endeavored to increase its musical resources, in his own case and in the case of others, as a soloist and a conductor, as a poet and a theatre manager. He studied every metre, the harmony of words with each other, the timbre of words and phrases. "Lass die Reime lieblich fließen, lass mich des Gesangs genießen." He constantly preached clarity of speech to actors and singers. In a real sense he was creative musically. Such songs as "Über allen Gipfeln ist Ruh" and "Füllest wieder Busch und Tal still mit Nebelglanz" are felt, deep down in the creative imagination, to be a kind of musical symphony. As poems alone there is simply too great a wealth of sentiment in them. One can study or read them aloud to oneself with the greatest concentration and absorption; yet words and thoughts invariably fly too rapidly by. Even the addition of music in the form that Goethe conceived for the song, does not suffice. No composer, not even Schubert, succeeded in making even an approximately adequate musical interpretation of them. The reason for this is obvious: there are poems too musical to be set to music. Goethe could give expression to his profound musicality only as a poet. But in the soul of a genius forces and tendencies are alive which make themselves felt in later generations, at times even in his own generation. Goethe was quickly followed by musicians who in their own medium



echoed what he had done in rhyme. Between 1790 and 1820 a far-reaching revolution took place in the mood and imagination of musicians. They learned to understand the voice of elemental nature. That new music, which the aged Goethe could no longer grasp, was to a certain extent his own achievement. Beethoven regarded him with the reverential love of a son; so did Schubert; Weber disliked the old man; others did not trouble themselves about him; yet they all inhabited a new spiritual world, a world which Goethe had helped to create and which was full of his genius.

### Bibliographical Note

Wilhelm Bode, *Die Tonkunst in Goethes Leben*, 2 vols. Berlin: E. S. Mittler und Sohn, 1912.

Max Friedländer, *Gedichte von Goethe in Kompositionen seiner Zeitgenossen* („Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft," 11. Band). Weimar: Goethe-Gesellschaft, 1896.

Johann-Wolfgang Schottländer, *Carl Friedrich Zelters Darstellungen seines Lebens* („Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft," 44. Band). Weimar: Goethe-Gesellschaft, 1931.

Richard Benz, *Goethe und Beethoven*. Leipzig: Philipp Reclam jun., 1942.

Wilhelm Tappert, *54 Erbkönig-Kompositionen*. Berlin: Leo Liepmannsohn, 1898.

A full, annotated bibliography with a critical evaluation of the most important publications on the subject is in the process of publication:

Frederick W. Sternfeld, „Goethe and Music: A Bibliography," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, LIV, No. 1 (January, 1950), pp. 3-24; No. 2 (February, 1950), pp. 74-88; No. 3 (March, 1950), pp. 107-122; No. 4 (April, 1950), pp. 182-197; No. 6 (June, 1950), pp. 287-300.

Two recent publications:

Irmgard Weithase, *Goethe als Sprecher und Sprecherzieher*. Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1949.

Paul Winter, *Goethe erlebt Kirchenmusik in Italien*. Hamburg: Hans Dulk Verlag, 1949.



## AUS GOETHES BRIEFEN AN ZELTER

Weimar, 4. Januar 1819

... Schon der Anblick Deiner Komposition macht mich wieder froh. Bei dieser Gelegenheit muß ich erzählen, daß ich, um die Gedichte zum Aufzug zu schreiben, drei Wochen anhaltend in Berka zubrachte, da mir denn der Inspektor [der Organist Heinrich Schütz] täglich drei bis vier Stunden vorspielte, und zwar auf mein Ersuchen nach historischer Reihe: von Sebastian Bach bis zu Beethoven, durch Philipp Emanuel, Händel, Mozart, Haydn durch, auch Dusseck u. dgl. mehr. Zugleich studierte ich Marpergers vollkommenen Kapellmeister . . . Nun habe ich das wohltemperierte Klavier sowie die Bachischen Choräle gekauft und dem Inspektor zum Weihnachten verehrt, womit er mich denn bei seinen hiesigen Besuchen erquicken und, wenn ich wieder zu ihm ziehe, aufbauen wird.

Eger, 24. August 1823

... Nun aber doch das eigentlich Wunderbarste! Die ungeheure Gewalt der Musik auf mich in diesen Tagen! Die Stimme der Milder, das Klangreiche der Szymanowska, ja sogar die öffentlichen Exhibitionen des hiesigen Jägerkorps falten mich auseinander, wie man eine geballte Faust freundlich flach läßt. Zu einiger Erklärung sag ich mir: Du hast seit zwei Jahren und länger gar keine Musik gehört (außer Hummeln zweimal), und so hat sich dieses Organ, insofern es in dir ist, zugeschlossen und abgesondert; nun fällt die Himmlische auf einmal über dich her durch Vermittelung großer Talente und übt ihre ganze Gewalt über Dich aus, tritt in alle ihre Rechte und weckt die Gesamtheit eingeschlummerter Erinnerungen. Ich bin völlig überzeugt, daß ich im ersten Takte Deiner Singakademie den Saal verlassen müßte. Und wenn ich jetzt bedenke: alle Woche nur einmal eine Oper zu hören, wie wir sie geben (einen Don Juan, die heimliche Heirat) . . . so begreift man erst, was das heißt, einen solchen Genuß zu entbehren, der wie alle höheren Genüsse den Menschen aus und über sich selbst, zugleich auch aus der Welt und über sie hinaushebt.

Weimar, 3. Juni 1830

Soeben früh halb 10 Uhr fährt beim klarsten Himmel, im schönsten Sonnenschein der treffliche Felix [Mendelssohn] mit Ottilien, Ulriken und den Kindern, nachdem er vierzehn Tage bei uns vergnüglich zugebracht und alles mit seiner vollendeten lebenswürdigen Kunst erbaut, nach Jena . . . Mir war seine Gegenwart besonders wohlthätig, da ich fand, mein Verhältnis zur Musik sei noch immer dasselbe; ich höre sie mit Vergnügen, Anteil und Nachdenken, liebe mir das Geschichtliche . . . Von der Bachischen Epoche heran hat er mir wieder Haydn, Mozart und Gluck zum Leben gebracht; von den großen neuern Technikern hinreichende Begriffe gegeben, und endlich mich seine eigenen Produktionen fühlen und über sie nachdenken machen; ist daher auch mit meinen besten Segnungen geschieden. . . .

## THE LAY OF ALBWIN AND THE LAY OF IRING

### Two Old German Heroic Poems

*Reconstructed by* FELIX GENZMER

*Englished by* LEE M. HOLLANDER

*University of Texas*

Only meagre remnants of Old Germanic alliterative poetry have been preserved in German territory. The Lay of Hildebrand — itself a fragment — is sole witness of the existence of a wealth of heroic poetry in the oldest times which is lost to us. The reason for this is not because Old German poetry had outlived itself and was moribund, but because it was destroyed by the inrush of the Mediterranean civilization in alliance with Christianity. It is not by accident that a fair number of Germanic lays about gods and heroes were put on parchment, and thus preserved for us, only in Iceland where the Southern influence arrived at a comparatively late time and with diminished force. Alliterative poetry is still cultivated there as in times gone by; as a fact, in Iceland even now a poem without alliteration is not regarded as a high class work of art.

It is tempting to explore how much of the body of poetry destroyed in Germany can be reclaimed. Within modest limitations attempts in that direction may be successful. For even if the old German poems themselves are irretrievably lost, yet a little has been preserved of their contents. Medieval authors for the most part were too uncritical to be able to distinguish clearly between history and legend. Only some Icelanders form honorable exceptions in this respect, chief among them the great Snorri Sturlason, author of the *Heimskringla* or *History of the Norwegian Kings*. But for our purpose precisely this failing in Medieval authors is fortunate. Because the very fact that they regarded the heroic legends known to them as historic documents and incorporated these legends into their work, even if often in fragmentary and corrupted form, allows us to make out fairly well various heroic lays at least as to their contents. The trained eye of the scholar can easily detect what is legend and what history, because both in content and attitude a heroic lay is clearly distinguishable from the historic sequence of events. This distinction becomes especially patent in those cases where we possess

\* Genzmer is best known to students of Germanic antiquity and also to many thousands of Germans through his magnificent translation of the Poetic Edda in the Thule Series, with Andreas Heusler's colorful Introduction and Prefaces. Though professor of jurisprudence — first in Rostock, then in Marburg, and finally in Tübingen — and occupying posts of great honor and responsibility in the financial administration of Germany he has remained true to his first love, the study of Old Germanic poetry and culture. In this field he is the author of important articles on Skaldic and Eddic poetry. He has written a book on old Germanic Navigation, and recently published a new translation of *Heliand* and the Old Saxon *Genesis*. — The lays here Englished show a creative imagination and a brilliance of execution informed with a profound knowledge of Old Germanic poetic style rivalling Axel Olrik's famous reconstruction of the Lay of Biarki. And the Introduction, likewise by him, is a model of popularization while strictly adhering to philological method.

older, perchance even contemporary, accounts which relate events as they actually happened, in more or less chronicle-like form, and not yet transfigured poetically. Once we have arrived at this insight all that remains to be done is to give fullness and detail to the poem thus recognized in its outlines and to fill out some gaps or do away with some distortions which may have occurred in the tradition. We cannot, of course, hope to effect a complete restoration of the original; but if we are fairly successful we may create something which will show approximately what the lost poem was like.

What has been said holds true with regard to the two heroic lays to be considered here.

The first deals with the well-known story of Albwin (generally known in the Romanized form Alboin) and Rosamunda. We know from various historic sources that there was for a long time hostility between the Langobards and the Gepids until finally Thurisind, the aged king of the Gepids, effected a reconciliation with Albwin, the young king of the Langobards. After Thurisind's death, however, his son and successor, Kunimund, rekindled the flames of war. But the Gepids suffered a crushing defeat and Kunimund was slain in battle by Albwin. As a prize the victor took with him Rosamunda, Kunimund's daughter, and made her his wife.

This is the historical background for the action of our lay. What this action was we are told in a few words by the contemporary Frankish chronicler, Gregory of Tours. According to him Albwin took to wife a woman whose father he had slain a short while before. In revenge she poisoned him, then fled with one of the king's henchmen. Both were seized, however, and put to death.

This account does not as yet allow us to perceive the outlines of an heroic lay. Nor is that to be expected since a certain period of time must necessarily elapse after the actual occurrence in order that it may be transformed artistically and purified so as to become the matter of a heroic legend. But the account does contain the germ out of which a heroic lay could develop. Rosamunda's deed was justified by the duty of revenge devolving upon her: as we know, according to old Germanic conceptions the demands of kin and clan were superior to those toward the husband. Thus in the older form of the Nibelungen legend as preserved for us in the Poetic Edda, Gudrun (the Kriemhild of the *Nibelungenlied*) avenges the death of her brothers, the Burgundian kings, on her second husband, Atli (Etzel) even though they had caused her first husband, Sigurd (Sigfrid), to be killed. Only in the later German *Nibelungenlied* does she avenge her husband on her brothers. It is this obligation of revenge lordling it over all other obligations, which leads to the most terrible conflict of loyalties and thereby to the deepest conflicts within the soul of the hero. For this reason the duty of revenge



is a main subject of Germanic hero legends, for in them the hero's strength of soul, and not his physical prowess, is the core of action.

Small wonder, therefore, that within a few generations our material has been transformed into an heroic legend. In the pages of the Langobardian historian, Paulus Diaconus, who wrote about 200 years after the events told above, the story of Albwin and Rosamunda is told in the following form. One evening when Albwin dwelt over his cups longer than was good for him he commanded his queen to serve wine out of her father's skull and to drink cheerfully out of it 'as if she were with her father'. Rosamunda obeyed but pondered revenge. She urged Helmichis, the armor-bearer of Albwin, to kill the king; but he advised her to seek the help of Peredeo, a tremendously strong warrior. Peredeo, however, refused. Thereupon Rosamunda concealed herself in the bed of her chamber woman with whom she knew Peredeo had dalliance and managed it so that without knowing it he slept with the queen. Then she made herself known to him and told him that now he had the choice of killing Albwin or falling by his sword. Under this compulsion he agreed to murder the king. When Albwin lay asleep Rosamunda fastened his sword to the bedstead and carried away his weapons. Then, following Peredeo's advice, she brought in Helmichis. Unable to use his sword, Albwin seized a footstool and defended himself stoutly until he was slain.

From this point on Paulus unfortunately follows another source which, in one respect perhaps, reflects historic truth but for the rest operates with Roman and Hellenistic novelistic motifs. Only in what he tells about the tragic end of Rosamunda and Helmichis may there be a remnant of heroic legend: Rosamunda, who had fled with Helmichis, finally gave him a poisoned drink. When he had drunk of it he discovered her design and forced her to drink the remainder; so that they died together.

With the above in mind we may now recognize the main lines of this Langobardic lay. It comprised four actors — Albwin, Rosamunda, Helmichis, and Peredeo — and five scenes, viz. the banquet, the colloquy of Rosamunda with Helmichis, their cohabitation, the slaying of Albwin and the common death by poison. All scenes are vivid and lifelike. We are terrified by Albwin's forcing Rosamunda to drink from the skull of her slain father, and we surmise that this is bound to be followed by monstrous revenge. The element of drinking out of the skull of a slain enemy was a Hunnish custom which in several instances has come into Germanic hero legends. As to the sacrifice of female honor for the sake of revenge it is found in still harsher form in the Old Norse *Volsunga saga*.

But there are two points in which we must remodel the account of Paulus to make the action conform to heroic legend.

In the first place there seems to be a confusion of the roles of Helmichis and Peredeo. Our reconstruction seeks to rectify this by

having Helmichis instead of Peredeo sleep with the queen. Also by having Helmichis persuade Peredeo to murder the king. This does away with some inner contradictions. A parallel for the action is found in the Eddic *Short Lay of Sigurd*: The Burgundian kings Gunnar and Hogni are reluctant to slay Sigurd themselves since they are bound to him by dear oaths. So they persuade their younger brother Guttorm to do the deed, since he is not so bound by oaths. To be sure, our modern feeling would condemn both the actual perpetrator and the abettor of the deed. Not so the ethical feeling of the Germanic tribes of antiquity, who considered the abettor as, after all, less guilty than the perpetrator.

In the second place, it does not conform to the attitude of Germanic hero legend to have Rosamunda drain the poison cup only by compulsion. Here too the Northern tradition points the way: Signy in the *Volsunga saga* recoils from no atrocity to avenge the slaying of her father and her brothers on her husband; but once she has accomplished it and her husband dies in the flames of his hall she says: "I have gone to any length to bring about King Siggeir's death. So much have I done to accomplish my revenge that I can in nowise live longer. Now shall I die as willingly with King Siggeir as I lived unwillingly with him." It is likely that Rosamunda departs this life with words of similar import.

\* \* \* \* \*

The second heroic lay is found concealed in the *Saxon History* of Widukind of Corbei. It contains the legend of the Thuringian hero Iring who figures, at a much later time, also in the legend of the Nibelungs. The historical event to which this lay owes its origin is the fall of the Thuringian kingdom. In this case, too, we have the opportunity to compare Widukind's account with those of older authors from whom we learn of what really happened.

According to them Irminfrid was the ruler of the Thuringians in the first third of the sixth century. He was married to Amalaberga, a daughter of Theodoric the Great, whose political aim was, as we know, to join the various Germanic kingdoms into a great federation of independent states in order to put an end to the destructive wars between them. Because of this aim he frequently, even if not always successfully, opposed the territorial ambitions of the Franks and their king Chlodowech (Clovis). After Chlodowech's death his four sons, three of them legitimate, and the illegitimate son, Theuderic, divided the kingdom between them. The latter received eastern Franconia. When soon thereafter also Theodoric the Great died Theuderic resumed his father's plans of conquest. Together with the allied Saxons he attacked Irminfrid and overcame him. Then Theuderic, with treason in mind, summoned Irminfrid to Zulpich and killed him. This spelled the end of the Thuringian kingdom.

The events just related have a radically different aspect in the *Saxon History* of Widukind, written more than 400 years later. According to

him, Amalaberga is the daughter, not of the Ostrogoth, Theuderic, but of the Frankish king Chlodovec, by Widukind called Hugo, a name frequently met with in historic legends. Amalaberga was his only heir beside the illegitimate son, Theuderic. But the Franks chose him as king of the whole realm. He thereupon sent an emissary to Irminfrid to offer him his friendship. But Amalaberga prevailed on the brave and wise king's councilor, Iring, to persuade Irminfrid to reject this offer because of his right to the Frankish realm as husband to the sole heiress. And whereas other councilors, fearing the superior power of the Franks, recommended accepting the offer of friendship, Iring advised Irminfrid to reject it because of his better title to the Frankish throne. Incited by him, Irminfrid scornfully told the ambassador that he could not approve of it that Theuderic, born a thrall, should strive for the royal power before attaining his liberty. Deeply shaken the ambassador replied: "I would rather have lost my head than hear such words from you. I know they will be washed away only with the blood of many Franks and Thuringians." On his return he transmitted the answer to Theuderic. Concealing his anger under a cheerful mien the Frankish king said: "I must hasten to offer Irminfrid my services as a thrall so that, deprived as I am of my liberty, I may at least keep my life." Then he advanced against the Thuringians with a mighty army.

In describing the ensuing war Widukind follows a different source — for the very good reason that the *Lay of Iring* hardly offered enough material for that purpose: it was not the artistic aim of Old Germanic poetry to depict the detailed course of political or military events. But we hear the old note again when Widukind relates the violent end of the two kings.

Irminfrid, beaten and put to flight, sent Iring to Theuderic to sue for peace and to offer him tribute and his submission. But Theuderic undertook to bribe Iring with rich gifts and the promise of great powers and honors to induce Irminfrid to come to his court and there kill him. After first refusing, Iring declared himself ready to do this. Irminfrid came and threw himself at Theuderic's feet. But Iring, standing beside Irminfrid with bared sword as his armor-bearer, ran him through as he knelt. Immediately Theuderic exclaimed: "By this crime you have become odious to all men, since you have slain your own lord. You are free to leave us, for we will have no share in your evil deed." But Iring replied: "For good reason have I become odious to all men, seeing that I have served your wiles. But before leaving I wish to expiate my crime in avenging my lord." And, still standing there with naked sword, he slew Theuderic. Then he took the body of his king and placed it above the corpse of Theuderic, so that at least in death he might be victorious who was overcome in life. And making a way for himself with his sword, he escaped.

Even clearer than in the case of Albwin and Rosamunda we can see that the historian is following a heroic lay; because unmistakably all events are here transformed in the manner of Germanic hero legends.

The political motive for the destruction of the Thuringian kingdom has disappeared. In its place we have the purely human motive of an insult which in its turn arises out of a struggle for the succession to the throne. To bring this about, the relationship had to be changed. The trusted armor-bearer who as inciter to strife leads to the fatal end is a figure known to us from other Germanic hero legends. We need but think of Gizur in the Old Norse lay of *The Battle of the Huns*. The slaying of Irminfrid, instead of being due to political intrigues, has become the vengeful deed of a mortally insulted opponent. Theuderic, too, quite contrary to historical fact, is the victim of revenge. New, too, is the role of the queen as the inciter of strife. Also for this we find many parallels in heroic legend, such as Skuld in the *Lay of Biarki*, the queen in the *Lay of Volund*, Hild in the Northern Hilde legend, Kriemhild in the second part of the *Nibelungenlied*.

How closely Widukind follows the heroic poem known to him we may see in the speeches which, in contrast to Paulus Diaconus, he reproduces in part almost verbally; so that we need only put them in verse form in order to rescue portions of the old heroic lay.

Thus only a few tasks remain for him who would undertake to restore the poem in its entirety. The following scenes are ready to his hand: the dialogue of the queen with Iring, the colloquy of Theuderic's ambassador with Iring and Irminfrid, the exchange of words between the returning ambassador and the Frankish king, the dialogue between Theuderic and Iring, and as a climax the great final scene with the death of both kings. There is uncertainty only as to how the war and its conclusion was presented, for here Widukind fails us. In such a case the renovator must do the best he can, with other heroic lays in mind. Furthermore, at least two scenes must be supplied by him for sufficient motivation. It will not do to have Iring betray his king through sheer avarice, for in that case he would only have been a miscreant and would not have gone down the centuries as a hero. Additional motivation must be sought worthy of a hero; and that is the impugning of his honor, of which no one else could have been guilty but the haughty and hard-hearted queen. Also the final scene requires supplementation. The symbolic action of Iring in placing the body of his king above that of Theuderic looks somewhat theatrical and as if the idea had occurred to the hero on the spur of the moment. The action would be more telling if motivated by something that had gone before: very possibly something has dropped out here in Widukind's brief account.

The materials thus assembled allow us to envision a heroic lay — one of the later times and of medium length, in its style comparable, say,



to the Eddic *Lays of Volund* and of *Hamthir*, and in extent to the *Older Lay of Atli*. Proceeding along these lines one may attempt to restore the only Thuringian heroic lay of which we have knowledge.

\* \* \* \* \*

In conclusion a few words about the metrical art of the Old Germanic heroic lay. To be effective, the Germanic alliterative verse requires reading aloud; because here we are dealing with works of art which were created orally, and for the ear, not with pen and ink, for the eye. Nor is the reading of this verse form at all difficult — once we rid ourselves of some notions implanted in us by classicistic training. First of all we need to forget everything we have learned about iambs and trochees and dactyls and such like. The one fixed characteristic of the Germanic alliterative line is that it has two stresses, whereas the number of unaccented syllables in it is not fixed. Thus beside verses which have only four, sometimes only three, syllables we have others with extensive anacrusis and numerous unstressed syllables. This latitude makes it possible to have the form agree precisely with the substance and thus gives Germanic verse an extraordinary power of expression. It is heightened still further by alliteration (rime of initial sounds), which lends the stressed syllables still further emphasis. The epic measure used in the two heroic poems here reconstructed employs alliteration in such fashion that the even lines have only one alliteration, which then regularly (but not always) falls on the first accented syllable of the line; while in the odd lines one or two stressed syllables may carry it. Occasionally we also find cross alliteration.

One more caution: Germanic names are frequently mispronounced, especially by so-called cultured persons, according to Greek, Latin, French, or any but the correct principle; which is, to accent them always on their first syllable. Thus Théodoric, Amalaberga, Péredeo, Lan'-gobards, Ros'amunda.

### The Lay of Rosamunda

Horns went the round  
in the hall of Albwin  
among his heroes  
on high sitting;  
golden guerdon  
he gave his thanes  
and red-gold rings  
the ruler dealt out.

Up rose Albwin,  
Audwine's heir,  
Heated with drink  
too hasty spoke he:  
"In golden beaker  
thou givest me mead.  
More costly cup though  
a king befitteth.

"Stand up, Thankred,  
steward of kings,  
and bring me the beaker  
which best meseemeth,  
of foeman's skull  
skilfully wrought:  
such cup, methinks,  
a king befitteth."

Up raised Albwin  
that ale-cup on high,  
silver-mounted,  
and said these words:  
"Lo! Rosamunda,  
this lordly beaker,  
thy father's brain-pan,  
won on battle-field.

"Bold was Kunimund,  
and brave withal,  
stern the struggle  
where stood the hero:  
against me fought  
the Gepids' ruler,  
with shining sword  
he slashed at me.

"Hard he hewed,  
so my helmet rang.  
Its steel withstood, though,  
the strong one's blow.  
Far better bit  
his byrnie my sword:  
his land and life  
he lost then to me.

"Thou much didst mourn  
the mighty king —  
and that o'erthrown the last  
of Thurismund's kin;  
but here canst thou  
see Kunimund:  
let his child now  
quaff cheer with him."

The cup up raised  
Rosamunda,  
the gold-ring dight one,  
and drank of the mead.  
Blazed her eyes  
as she uttered the words:  
"Will men long remember  
this merry drink."

\* \* \*

Ebbd the glee then  
at eventide;  
left the banquet benches  
and sought their beds the heroes.  
From hall went Helmichis,  
Albwin's henchman.  
Him there accosted  
the queen in stealth:

"T is Helmichis should  
on high-seat throne,  
rule the realm  
and the rich gold hoard,  
should the king's crown wear  
and be called the highest —  
on Albwin if  
the earl avenged me."

Then spoke Helmichis  
with heart-of-oak:  
"Thou wickedly wishest  
woe-bringing deed —  
that with sword I sever  
the oaths I swear  
and with ill reward  
the weal I owe him.

"Was I empty-handed  
when to Albwin I came  
and into the folk-warrior's  
following was ta'en.  
On highseat I sit now  
by the side of the king  
and will never betray him  
who trusted me."

\* \* \*

Dark night was it  
when knocked the hero  
at his leman's door  
and she let him in:  
her lily-white arms  
she laid about him  
as under one linen  
lay the twain.

'T was earliest morn  
when up rose the queen:  
"Awake, Helmichis,  
hear woeful tiding:  
thou weenest perchance  
a wench shared thy couch:  
in thy arms hadst thou  
King Albwin's wife.

"Thou hast broken the troth  
to thy trusting liege;  
beware, Helmichis,  
the hero's wrath!  
With blood he will wash off  
this blot on his honor —  
unless with thy sword  
thou slay him first."

"Let Perdeo rather,  
the powerful thane,  
do him to death  
ere day doth break:  
no oaths he swore  
as I have done,  
his hand is not held  
by holy pledge."

\* \* \*

On his couch lay the king,  
overcome by sleep,  
the dispenser of rings,  
in royal chamber.  
From threshold then  
Thurisd's kin  
called to the king,  
Kunimund's daughter:

"Rouse thee, Albwin,  
unpeace approaches:  
the bolts I undid  
the doors to open.  
A champion I chose  
to challenge thee  
and claim revenge  
for Kunimund.

"Seek not thy sword —  
thou 'lt not swing it in fray:  
to thy bed's post I  
bound it firmly;  
nor will thy shield  
shelter thee:  
from the bed I bore  
thy buckler away."

Up sprang Albwin,  
the iron-hearted,  
he found no weapon  
to ward off the foe.  
Then Perdeo pierced,  
the powerfulthane,  
with ice-cold iron  
the atheling's breast.

With the foot-stool then  
fought him Albwin,  
fiercely him fended  
the fearless king:  
on the head he hit him  
with heavy blow  
so that dead did drop  
the dastardly one.

On his foe then fell  
the fearless king.  
Spoke this only  
to his spouse Albwin:  
"Quick to avenge  
was Kunimund's daughter."  
Did the rafters ring  
with Rosamunda's laughter.

\* \* \*

"I offered up  
all to my vengeance,  
my own honor  
and Albwin's life.  
Now I list not  
to live longer,  
but drain to its dregs  
the deadly beaker."

At the hall's head she  
Helmichis met.  
The lordly lady  
lifted the beaker:  
"Hail now bid I  
to Helmichis,  
that long may live  
the Langobards' kin!"

A deep draught took  
the doughtythane,  
by the right hand then  
Rosamunda seized:  
"Sit by my side,  
sun-bright lady,  
with thy new consort  
to quaff the mead."

A last time laughed then  
the lordly woman,  
from gods descended,  
and sneeringly spoke:  
"ill meseemeth  
and unbefitting,  
after eagle that crow  
be king in the land.

"Not any of you  
was Albwin's match,  
the scion of kings  
descended from gods.  
Quaffed his last cup  
the king's murderer:  
right well I brewed  
the baleful drink.

## The Lay of Iring

"Enter, Iring,  
Irminfrid's man,  
most trustedthane  
of Thuring kings!  
To me I called thee,  
thy counsel to hear  
and thy help to have  
in hardest need."

Up spake Iring,  
the old warrior:  
"What doth ail thee,  
Amalberga?  
Sorrow and sadness  
thy sight showeth:  
who has harmed  
the highborn queen?"

Answer made him  
Irminfrid's spouse:  
"Troubled am I;  
for tidings have come  
that Hugo died,  
the highborn king,  
the Franks' folkwarder  
and my father.

"No lawful heir  
he left behind him  
but a bastard only,  
born of a hand-maid;  
a thrall hath now  
on throne him seated —  
the base bastard  
now bears the crown.

"Sends the thrall-born king  
now Thankred hither,  
Theuderic's thane,  
to Thuring land.  
To Irminfrid  
he offers gifts  
that king we call  
the caitiff wretch.

"Does the whoreson hanker  
to inherit all,  
both hoard and highseat  
which Hugo owned?  
It all could be  
Amalberga's  
if Irminfrid  
ousted the robber."

Thus spake Iring,  
Irminfrid's man:  
"Chafe no longer,  
nor cheerless be,  
but hear the oath  
of Irminfrid's thane  
on haft of sword  
to Hugo's daughter,

"that higher shall be  
than Hugo's bastard, —  
higher Irminfrid  
than the hand-maid's son;  
that he rule the realm  
rightfully his  
and Amalberga's,  
Irminfrid's spouse."

. . . . .

Were fires lit in hall  
for Frankish guests,  
where by maidens many  
the mead was poured.  
From highseat in hall  
hardy Thankred,  
from Frankland wended,  
these words then spoke:

"Theuderic bade me  
ride to Thuring land  
through fields and forests,  
fastnesses many.  
To Irminfrid offers  
the heir of Hugo,  
the Frankish ruler,  
his friendship and peace.

"Would he give thee goblets  
and golden rings,  
weapons, war-weeds,  
and Welsh swords many,  
halls and manors  
with hand-maids and thralls —  
if friend and kinsman  
thou callest him."

Not one of the athelings  
made answer to him,  
of all the thingmen  
in Thuring land.  
They feared as foemen  
the Frankish warriors.  
Up then stood Iring  
and uttered these words:

"Saw I sixty summers,  
saw I sixty winters,  
far have I fared  
to folklands many;  
but never yet  
in these years heard I  
that ruler his realm  
for rings did sell.

"Great is and goodly  
the gift of the whoreson,  
offering thee alms  
out of Amalberga's coffers!  
Neither hoard nor land  
are the whoreson's own:  
are they Irminfrid's  
and Amalberga's."

Then spoke the king,  
cold was his voice:  
"Tell Theuderic,  
thou trusted thane,  
't were better for him,  
the bondwoman's son,  
to ask for his freedom  
than aim to be king."

Sadly spoke Thankred,  
Theuderic's man:  
"My head rather  
had I left here  
than hear these scathing  
and scornful words,  
by Iring spoken  
and Irminfrid.



"But know you this:  
as night follows day,  
much blood will flow  
of both our peoples,  
and many a liegeman  
will lose his life,  
ere washed away are  
these words of shame."

• • • •

Home to his hall  
hied him Thankred,  
of the saying heedful  
and sad in his mind.  
Him Theuderic met  
in middle court:  
"Tell me what tidings  
betokens thy mien."

"Better tidings  
I would bring thee gladly;  
but these searing words said  
thy sister's husband:  
't were better for thee,  
a bondwoman's son,  
to ask for freedom  
than aim to be king."

Then laughed softly  
the lord of the Franks:  
"Hie we in haste  
to the hall of Irminfrid  
lest the lord of Thuring  
lack our service:  
our willing work  
may ward off his wrath.

"All who can wield weapons  
and the war-shield raise —  
no man in the realm  
remain behind!  
Down to twelve-year-old lads  
and two-year-old foals,  
all Franks shall follow me  
to be flunkies for him."

• • • •

On watch-tower high,  
with horn at his side,  
to warn of foemen  
the warden stood.  
To him turned then,  
troubled in mind,  
Amalberga:  
"Seest thou Irminfrid?"

"Dust I see rise  
on the road from the west,  
but no host wending  
home from the fray.  
Two riders see I  
race hitherward,  
are their steeds foam-flecked

from fast riding.  
'T is Iring and Irminfrid  
who in have ridden."

Then said Amalberga,  
evil in mind:  
"Hardly, thought I,  
would to Hugo's daughter  
dawn that day  
when undone was Irminfred:  
must mainsworn be  
the brave Iring.

"Ill kept his oath  
Irminfrid's man:  
't is owing to him  
that Irminfrid fled.  
higher than he  
stands now Hugo's bastard,  
mightier than he  
is the hand-maid's son."

Thus spoke Irminfrid —  
was he all undone:  
"Up now, Iring,  
my errand to go:  
peace would I have  
from Hugo's heir.  
Will I fealty swear  
to the Frankish ruler;  
the half of my hoard  
be his to one."

• • • •

To Theuderic came  
from Thuring land  
Iring the old  
with earnest mien:  
"Thy sister sent me,  
and thy sister's husband:  
peace would he have  
from Hugo's heir,  
Would he fealty swear  
to the Frankish ruler;  
would yield half his hoard  
for his haughty word."

Wily words then  
spoke the wary king:  
"If Irminfrid found  
so eager to work  
the bond-woman's son,  
the bastard of Hugo —  
then the whole hoard would he  
have as his pay.

"Dare I trust the oath  
of Irminfrid,  
who rashly claimed  
the realm of Frankland?  
The dead I trust;  
but dare I trust him  
who higher holds him  
than Hugo's son?

"Cease, then, Iring,  
to serve Irminfrid  
bereft of riches  
and rule of folk-lands!  
After me thou mayest  
be mightiest among Franks;  
with red gold rings  
I will richly reward thee —  
if you bring me the head  
of your haughty lord."

Answer made Iring,  
the old warrior:  
"Thou wickedly wishest  
woe-bringing deed:  
most mainsworn aye  
would men call me  
if my sword severed  
the oaths I have sworn."

Thus spoke Theuderic —  
in his thoughts dwelled cunning:  
"Mainsworn called they  
mighty Iring  
before the Franks when  
fled Irminfrid,  
and Amalberga  
Iring did mock."

No words had Iring,  
the old warrior;  
he bit his grey beard  
and bowed his head.  
Long he was silent,  
but at last he spoke:  
"I heed the behest  
of Hugo's heir."

\* \* \*

On highseat in hall  
sate Hugo's heir,  
with Frankish warriors  
filling the benches.  
Before Theuderic then  
the Thuring king stepped,  
noble Irminfrid,  
with Iring by him.

His sword laid Irminfrid  
into Iring's hand;  
his knee he bent  
to bow to Theuderic,  
fealty to swear  
to the Frankish ruler.  
Then plunged Iring the iron  
into Irminfrid's back.

Called out Theuderic,  
the cunning ruler:  
"Despised wilt be  
and spurned by all,  
a by-word and hissing

henceforth wilt be;  
I have no share  
in the shameful deed:  
hence, caitiff, hie thee, —  
from my hall be gone!"

Answer made Iring,  
Irminfrid's thane:  
"In truth I'll be hated  
henceforth by men,  
for thy behest  
have I followed.  
But ere I flee from thee,  
a faithless thane,  
traitor! take this  
to atone for my lord!"

A second time swung he  
his sword in wrath —  
a deadly stroke  
he dealt Theuderic.  
From his highseat headlong  
Hugo's heir tumbled —  
from the steps kicked him  
the strong one down.

Up raised Iring  
Irminfrid's body  
and laid his lord  
o'er the low-born one's corpse.  
Before Hugo's highseat  
the hero stood  
with bare sword lifted  
in blood-stained hand,

and taunting the Franks  
the true-souled one spoke:  
"Now higher is Irminfrid  
than Hugo's bastard,  
under his foot  
lies the Franks' ruler;  
mightier he is  
than the hand-maid's son.

"Tell Amalberga,  
Hugo's heiress,  
Irminfrid's wife,  
the wanton queen,  
that to his oath untrue  
Iring yet true was —  
that, faithless, Iring  
his faith yet kept."

With brandished weapon  
his way he made,  
with savage sword-blows  
a swath he cut —  
hewed through hosts  
of half-hearted Franks.  
Thus did Iring  
Irminfrid avenge.

## TWO LITERARY SOURCES OF "IMMENSEE"

E. O. WOOLEY  
Indiana University

Many writers on Theodor Storm have noted that he was strongly influenced in his writings by Joseph von Eichendorff and Eduard Mörike. A French scholar, Robert Pitrou,<sup>1</sup> connects Eichendorff's *Dichter und ihre Gesellen* and Mörike's *Maler Nolten* with Storm's *Immensee*. It has seemed worthwhile, then, to the writer to present numerous quotations from these novels to show the extent to which Storm may have leaned on his favorite authors in securing materials for *Immensee*.

Storm quite willingly admitted the influence of Eichendorff upon him in his formative years. On February 16, 1854, Storm met the old poet at a dinner party in the home of Franz Kugler in Berlin and freely acknowledged his literary indebtedness to him. In a letter of August 21, 1873, to Emil Kuh, Storm placed *Dichter und ihre Gesellen* among the favorite books of his school days in Lübeck.

*Maler Nolten* came to Storm's attention first in 1840 during his university days in Kiel. In regard to the novel he thought "daß in einzelnen Partien vielleicht das Höchste geleistet sei, was überall der Kunst erreichbar ist." His letters of April, 1846, to his fiancée, Constanze Esmarch, show that he was reading *Maler Nolten* again with enjoyment; in fact, he tells his loved one: "Das Buch ist mir aus der Seele geschöpft." And the novel remained a favorite book of his throughout his life.

Since we have in Storm's own words ample evidence of his liking for *Dichter und ihre Gesellen* and *Maler Nolten* in the years when he was developing his literary taste, we can readily expect an early work like *Immensee* (1849) to contain motifs and episodes which hark back to the two novels. In our present discussion we will quote passages from the novels that resemble *Immensee*, designating *Dichter und ihre Gesellen*<sup>2</sup> with D, *Maler Nolten*<sup>3</sup> with M, Parts I and II, and *Immensee*<sup>4</sup> with I. The quotations are grouped under the appropriate chapter headings of *Immensee*.

### DER ALTE

D. p. 275. In den letzten Strahlen der Abendsonne wurde . . . ein Reiter sichtbar, der zwischen dem Jauchzen der heimkehrenden Spaziergänger nach dem freundlichen Städtchen hinabritt, . . . und hatte . . . in die duftige Talferne hinaus geschaut.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *La vie et l'œuvre de Theodor Storm*, Paris, Felix Alcan, p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> Franz Schultz, Insel-Verlag, Leipzig.

<sup>3</sup> August Leffson, Bong und Co., Berlin; version of 1832.

<sup>4</sup> Albert Köster, Theodor Storms Sämtliche Werke, Insel-Verlag, Leipzig, Vol. I.

<sup>5</sup> I. p. 271. An einem Spätherbstnachmittage ging ein alter wohlgekleideter Mann langsam die Straße hinab. Er schien von einem Spaziergange nach Hause zurückzukehren; . . . sah er ruhig umher oder in die Stadt hinab, welche im Abendsonnendufte vor ihm lag.

M. II. 59. So hatte der Baron bei diesem Besuche seinen gewohnten Morgenspaziergang im Aug', so stellte er sein Rohr noch wie sonst in die Ecke . . . , noch immer hatte er die unmodisch steifen Halsbinden nicht abgeschafft. . . . nur das geistreiche Feuer seiner Augen konnte diese Betrachtungen vergessen machen.<sup>6</sup>

D. 445. . . . der Mond scheint durchs Fenster über die Bilder an der Wand.

M. I. 206. Als man in die Dachkammer kam, wo sich das merkwürdige Bild befand, . . . es war so aufgehängt, daß soeben der Mond sein starkes Licht darauf fallen ließ, . . . Man hätte es wirklich für ein Porträt Elisabeths halten können. . . . Der Alte mußte den Rest der traurigen Geschichte erzählen.<sup>7</sup>

The quotations present the leading features of "Der Alte." A man is approaching his destination in the late afternoon; he looks into the distance or down toward the city. Mention is made of old-fashioned clothes and youthful eyes. In an upstairs room at the old man's house the moonlight falls on the picture of Elisabeth and causes the old man to relate her sad story.

#### DIE KINDER

When Nolten is sixteen years old he comes to live at the home of a forester. Agnes, the daughter of the family, is seven years old. The two young people grow up together and eventually become engaged.

Like Storm's Elisabeth, the Elisabeth of *Maler Nolten* has brown eyes. The latter is the daughter of Nolten's uncle and Loskine, a gypsy girl. The uncle tells of his wooing of the gypsy maid (M. I. 200):

Loskine suchte ihre Lieblingsspeise, das durstlöschende Blatt des Sauerklees. Ich begleitete sie und wir setzten uns endlich. . . . Ich weiß nicht, wie wir auf allerlei Märchen zu sprechen kamen. Unter anderem wußte sie von der spinnenden Waldfrau zu sagen, . . .

The "Malve" and the "drei Spinnfrauen" of Storm's story are replaced here by the "Sauerklee" and the "spinnende Waldfrau."

#### IM WALDE

M. II. 60. Nolten said: "Jüngere Kinder, darunter auch Agnes, hörten des Abends gern meine Märchen."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup>I. 271. . . . seine Schnallenschuhe, die einer vorübergegangenen Mode angehörten, . . . mit seinen dunkeln Augen, in welche sich die ganze verlorene Jugend gerettet zu haben schien, . . .

<sup>7</sup>I. 272. . . . endlich fiel ein Mondstrahl durch die Fensterscheiben auf die Gemälde an der Wand, . . . Nun trat er über ein kleines Bild in schlichtem schwarzem Rahmen. "Elisabeth!" sagte der Alte leise; . . .

<sup>8</sup>I. 275. Von den Märchen, welche er ihr sonst erzählt und wieder erzählt hatte, . . .



D. 301. Florentine schlich sich heimlich nach dem Walde, um für den Abend Erdbeeren zu pflücken. Fortunat sah sie mit ihrem Körbchen unten aus dem Dorfe gehen, er warf sein Buch weg und folgte ihr, konnte sie aber im Walde nicht wiederfinden.<sup>9</sup>

D. 302. Dunkelrote Blumen glühten zwischen den Steinen, einzelne Schmetterlinge flatterten in der trüben, brütenden Schwüle. . . . Florentine strich die Locken aus der heißen Stirn. . . . So traten sie nun beruhigter den Rückweg an.<sup>10</sup>

D. 207. . . . die rüstige Amtmannin begann, indem sie den Braten zerschnitt, sich mit allerlei weisen Redensarten und spitzigen Ausfällen über die teuren Zeiten zu verbreiten, . . .<sup>11</sup>

D. 454. . . . du bist die Waldkönigin Aurora, mein liebes Dichterweibchen.<sup>12</sup>

Here are to be found the chief incidents in Reinhard and Elisabeth's hunt for strawberries. At the end a young poet calls his loved one the "forest queen."

#### DA STAND DAS KIND AM WEGE

On New Year's Eve Nolten attends a ball at the principal hotel of the city and meets the gypsy girl, who is wearing a mask. Her singing is thus described (M. I. 189): "Ein leidenschaftlicher, ein düsterer Geist beseelte diese unregelmäßig auf und ab steigenden Melodien." In D. 248 we read: "Die Gräfin saß unter ihrem Zelte und spielte auf einer Zither." Kamilla, in gypsy garb sings with a guitar (D. 332): "Einsam bin ich nicht alleine."

Certain motifs in Elisabeth's letter to Reinhard (I. 283) remind us of passages from two novels. In D. 292 we find the following reference to cakes: "Eine junge Dienstmagd brachte eine Schüssel mit den in Kuchen gebackenen Namenszügen Ottos herbei." In M. II. 34, Raymund, the sculptor, insists that his fiancée pose for him; she first refuses, then poses for him twice. Here we think of Elisabeth's sitting for a picture to please Reinhard's mother (I. 284). In M. I. 71, Agnes is persuaded to take lessons on the mandolin from her cousin Otto: "es galt, den Geliebten später mit diesem neuen Talent zu überraschen."

Reinhard spends the night before Christmas in writing letters; the long hours of worry and strain have left their mark on his face by the next morning (I. 285). In Mörike's novel the countess on a cold winter

\*I. 277. "Komm, Elisabeth," sagte Reinhard, "ich weiß einen Erdbeerenschlag;" . . . "So komm," sagte sie, "der Korb ist fertig."

<sup>10</sup> I. 277. . . . er führte sie auf einen freien Platz hinaus, wo blaue Falter zwischen den einsamen Waldblumen flatterten. Reinhard strich ihr die feuchten Haare aus dem erhitzten Gesichtchen; . . .

<sup>11</sup> I. 279. Der alte Herr . . . hielt den Jungen die Fortsetzung seiner moralischen Reden, während er eifrig an einem Braten herumtranschierte.

<sup>12</sup> I. 280. Sie hat die goldnen Augen  
Der Waldeskönigin.

night reads the letters which give evidence of Nolten's affection for Agnes.

M. I. 152. Sie erschien sich selber im Spiegel wie ein verändertes Wesen, das, seitdem etwas Ungeheures mit ihm vorgegangen, gar nicht mehr in die bisherigen Umgebungen, in diese Wände, unter diese Geräte passen wollte. . . . Bald erschien die Morgensonne in den Fenstern.

### DAHEIM

Nolten comes to the home of Agnes. (M. II. 51) "Und was es schön geworden ist, mein Kind, Papa!" rief Theobald, als er sie recht eigens um ihre Gestalt betrachtete, 'was es zugenommen hat.' . . . sagte Agnes, indem eine köstliche Röte sich über ihre Wangen zog." Nolten notices the fragrance of Agnes's letters (M. I. 59): "Es war genau der alte echte Maiblumen- und Erdbeerenduft." Nolten says to his sister (M. I. 185): "Es läßt mich nicht ruhen, dir zu gestehen, daß ich doch ein Geheimnis vor dir habe! . . . Aber heute sollst du es hören!"

In *Immensee* (I.285) and in *Maler Nolten* (II. 51), a young man after a long absence observes the growth of the girl dear to him. The girl blushes when he comments on the change. The young man associates the lily of the valley and strawberries with his beloved one. He has a secret which he will reveal at a stated time. However, the chapter "Daheim" represents the independent work of Storm; thus few parallels with the novels can be traced.

### EIN BRIEF

Walter writes to Fortunat (D. 364):

Wie glücklich seid Ihr Dichter! Eurem zauberischen Sinne erschließt sich überall . . . die verborgene Schönheit der Welt, mit jedem Schritte erweitern sich die Kreise, . . . und neue Fernen heben sich wieder wunderbar immer weiter und schöner. Mit mir geht es gerade umgekehrt. Je weiter ich komme, je enger wird der Kreis, und die Fernen, die mich in der Jugend entzückten, verbleichen und versinken mir allmählich. . . . Ich erhielt aus der Stadt die Nachricht, daß mir das einträgliche Amt eines Gerichtsverwalters . . . zuteil geworden. Nun steht unserer Verheiratung nichts mehr im Wege. . . . im Hause durch die offenen Fenster sehe ich die Mutter emsig Federn schütten zu den Brautbetten.<sup>13</sup>

Reinhard's mother in her letter contrasts her son's youthful attitude toward life with her own attitude of old age; youth can much better make up for its losses than can old age. Erich has at last overcome the obstacle to his marriage, that is, Elisabeth's rejection of his suit. The marriage will soon take place; Elisabeth's mother will accompany the

<sup>13</sup> I. 289-290. "In Deinem Alter, mein liebes Kind, hat noch fast jedes Jahr sein eigenes Gesicht; denn die Jugend läßt sich nicht ärmer machen. . . . Erich hat sich endlich das Jawort von Elisabeth geholt, . . . Die Hochzeit soll bald sein, und die Mutter wird dann mit ihnen fortgehen."

young couple to the new home.—In *Dichter und ihre Gesellen* Walter shows that his world is becoming narrower, while Fortunat lives in an expanding world. Walter had been prevented from marrying by lack of a position, but at last that hinderance has been removed. Another mother is preparing for her child's marriage. The news is of interest to Fortunat; for a time he was fond of Walter's fiancée.

#### IMMENSEE

Part I of *Immensee* closes with the letter of Reinhard's mother to him. (I. 289). In *Maler Nolten* the letter of the countess to Nolten marks the end of his infatuation for her. In the next paragraph we find Nolten on his way to Neuburg to pay Agnes a visit.

M. II. 46-47. Gemächlich ritt er die lange Steige hinunter und machte am Fuß derselben Halt. . . . Mit einer unvermuteten Wendung des Wegs öffnet sich ein stilles Tal, das gar kein Ende nehmen will; doch ritt er zu, und die Berge traten endlich ein wenig auseinander.<sup>14</sup>

D. 283ff. Jetzt standen sie an dem Abhange des Berges. . . . wo in kühlen Schatten uralter Bäume . . . das rote Ziegeldach. . . .<sup>15</sup> "Land! Land!" rief endlich Walter aus, "dorthin zu liegt Hohenstein!" . . . Immer tiefer und freudiger stiegen sie von den Bergen in das Blütenmeer.

M. II. 49. . . . einsame Bienen summen um die jungen Kräuter.

The traveler is descending a path in the woods; he is on his way to visit the sweetheart of his youth. The journey seems to him interminable. He notes the extremely old trees on the steep slope and the red-tiled roof of the house to which he journeys. He calls the name of the estate. He pauses long enough to mark the busy hum of the honeybees. (I. 291)

D. 281. Walter war fast ausgelassen heiter, schwenkte den Hut in der Luft.

D. 276. . . . er schien langsamer, bleicher und gebückter. Dieser dagegen konnte sich gar nicht satt sehen an den klaren Augen und der heiteren schlanken Gestalt Fortunats. Walter pries vor allem sein Glück. (I. 292).

M. II. 50. Der Storch, . . . spazierte mit sehr vieler Gravität . . .<sup>16</sup> . . . der langbeinige Bursche. . . .

D. 317. Das Laub vor dem Hause verbreitete eine wunderbare, grüne Dämmerung . . .

D. 286. Fortunat wandte sich nun allein in den Garten, wo er . . . architektonische Formen altmodischer Gänge, hohe Buchenalleen und künstliche Blumenbeete erblickte.

<sup>14</sup> I. 290. . . . als erwarte er endlich eine Veränderung des einförmigen Weges, die jedoch immer nicht eintreten wollte.

<sup>15</sup> I. 291. . . . die Gipfel hundertjähriger Eichen . . . auf dem hohen Ufer erhob sich das Herrenhaus, weiß mit roten Ziegeln.

<sup>16</sup> I. 292. Der Storch . . . spazierte gravitatisch . . . der hochbeinige Ägypter . . .

Two old schoolmates meet; the one welcomes the other with the waving of his hat. One is cheerful, the other shows a serious attitude. One calls attention to his good fortune: he has won the girl whom both have loved. The stork walks about in dignified fashion. The newcomer notes the green twilight and the ornamental gardening.

M. II. 50. Schichtweise kam einigemal der süßeste Blumengeruch gegen den Lauscher herübergeweht. . . . hier, wo sich sein Duft mit den frühen Gefühlen einer reinen Liebe vermischte.

M. II. 49. . . . als ihm eine weibliche Figur auffällt. Agnes ist es wirklich. Sein Busen zieht sich atemlos zusammen.

M. II. 48. Agnes's father says to Nolten: "Wie so gar stattlich und vornehm Sie mir aussehen!"<sup>17</sup>

M. II. 52. Am Abend sollte Nolten erzählen. Der Alte saß nach aufgehobenem Abendessen geruhig zu einer Pfeife Tabak im Sorgensessel.

D. 295. Im Grün setzte er sich jeden Morgen mit dem Schreibzeug, um einige Novellen endlich einmal recht in Ruhe zu Papier zu bringen.<sup>18</sup>

M. II. 129. Die Gesellschaft begab sich ins Innere des Hauses und bis zum Abendessen trieb ein jedes, was ihm beliebte. . . . Die Tischzeit versammelte alle aufs neue.

M. I. 177. . . . so zeigt mir ein zufälliger Seitenblick in die leere Kastanienallee ein weibliches Wesen ganz ruhig an einen der Bäume gelehnt.<sup>19</sup>

The traveler is conscious of the fragrance of flowers just before he meets his loved one; at the sight of her he feels deeply moved. His distinguished appearance evokes a remark from his host. While the guest talks, the host sits calmly smoking in his easy chair. The guest continues his literary work during his visit. Guest and hosts dispose of their time as they like, but assemble for the evening meal. A young man thinks he perceives Elisabeth between the trees, but is not sure of her identity.

#### MEINE MUTTER HAT'S GEWOLLT

M. II. 169. Agnes sings: "Rosenzeit! wie schnell vorbei. . ."

M. I. 176. Henriette sings: "Fruh, wenn die Hähne krähen."

Agnes and Henriette, like Elisabeth,<sup>20</sup> find their happiness expressed poetically in a few simple lines.

D. 298. Otto hörte nicht mehr, er war rasch aufgestanden und schritt zürnend in den nächtlichen Garten hinein. Walter wollte

<sup>17</sup> I. 294. Schau nur, wie fremd und vornehm er aussehen worden ist.

<sup>18</sup> I. 294. Er hatte . . . die im Volke lebenden Reime und Lieder gesammelt und ging nun daran, seinen Schatz zu ordnen.

<sup>19</sup> I. 295. . . . glaubte er zwischen den schimmernden Birkenstämmen eine weiße Frauengestalt zu unterscheiden.

<sup>20</sup> I. 297. Meine Mutter hat's gewollt.



ihm folgen, wurde aber von Fortunat aufgehalten. . . . "Das laß ich wohl bleiben," rief Fortunat aus.<sup>21</sup>

D. 281. Der weitgestirnte Himmel sah durch die offenen Fenster herein. . . . während die Nachtigallen in den Gärten schlugen.

D. 299. Die Amtmannin blickte nach der Richtung hin, wo Otto verschwunden war, und ging dann, ohne ein Wort zu sagen, in das Haus hinein.<sup>22</sup>

Otto leaves the company under stress of emotion, Walter wishes to learn the reason for his emotional upset, and Fortunat causes his inquisitive friend to desist. Moon and stars look down on the scene, the nightingales sing in the gardens. Someone looks toward the place where another has disappeared, then leaves without commenting on the occurrence.

M. I. 83. So stand auf einem Mahagonipfeiler an der Wand eine offene Kalla. . . . Diese Pflanze, dachte er bei sich, nimmt sie nicht in meiner Einbildung einen Teil von Konstanzens eigenem Wesen an? Ja, dieser herrliche Kelch, diese dunklen Blätter, wie schön wird durch das alles die Geliebte bezeichnet und was sie umgibt!

As in *Immensee* (I. 299), so also in *Maler Nolten* (M. I. 83), a lily symbolizes the presence of a loved one. Mörike discusses the connection of person and flower, while Storm allows the reader to infer the connection.

#### ELISABETH

D. 300. Wahrhaftig, fuhr er fort, mir ist heute ganz zumute wie damals, als käme der Frühling wieder. Ach, nein, sagte sie traurig, der kommt nicht mehr wieder.

Otto and Kordelchen are talking. They first met in the spring and became fond of each other. Since then Otto has married another woman. Like Reinhard, he wishes to return to a once happy time of love. But "spring" and "strawberry time" will not return, for a marriage tie separates the lovers.<sup>23</sup>

M. I. 179. Ich traf auf meinem Hausflur ein Mädchen an, dessen Äußeres mich gleich frappierte. Es war eine Zigeunerin, hoch, schlank gewachsen, nicht mehr ganz jung, aber immer noch eine wirkliche Schönheit.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> I. 298. . . . schob Elisabeth leise ihren Stuhl zurück und ging schweigend in den Garten hinab, . . . Erich wollte nachgehen; . . .

<sup>22</sup> I. 298. Reinhard blickte noch eine Weile auf die Stelle, wo Elisabeths feine Gestalt . . . verschwunden war.

<sup>23</sup> I. 300. "Es ist keine Erdbeerzeit," sagte sie.

"Sie wird aber bald kommen."

Elisabeth schüttelte schweigend den Kopf; . . .

<sup>24</sup> I. 301. Auf dem Hausflur stand . . . ein Mädchen mit verstörten schönen Zügen . . .

In *Immensee* Reinhard recalls the song of the gypsy girl in the Ratskeller years before; in *Maler Nolten* the gypsy girl at the end of the story sings the song which she sang at her first meeting with Nolten.

D. 305. Als er zurückkehrte, hörte er unten im Hause leise ein Fenster öffnen, es war Florentine. . . . Er bat sie um einen Kuß . . . Draußen auf dem Berge wandte er sich noch einmal zurück.<sup>25</sup>

Fortunat becomes fond of Florentine, Walter's fiancée, and decides he had better leave her. After a long night vigil he takes a walk in the garden at dawn. His leave-taking from Florentine reminds one of Reinhard's departure from Immensee when he finds himself in love with Erich's wife. (I. 303).

#### DER ALTE

M. II. 13. Ich habe der Welt entsagt Auf diese Resignation hat jede meiner Prüfungen hingedeutet.

M. II. 177. Das Unglück schien, wenn man ihn ansah, ein längst vergangenes zu sein.

Nolten's fiancée is dead and Nolten himself is nearing death. His renunciation and resignation recalls the resigned spirit of the aged Reinhard in *Immensee*. (I. 304).

---

We observe that in many respects *Immensee* resembles the work of Eichendorff and Mörike. Since Storm admired *Dichter und ihre Gesellen* in his gymnasium days at Lübeck, and *Maler Nolten* at the University of Kiel five years later, we are not surprised to note that Storm seems more greatly indebted to Mörike than to Eichendorff. No admirer of Storm will regard as plagiarism any appropriation of motifs that Storm may have made from the writings which he loved. Probably he revolved in his mind the incidents of the two stories so often that he began to think and write like his favorite authors. But while he tells a story with no irrelevant episodes, the two novelists furnish complicated plots that are hard to follow.

On November 20, 1850 Storm sent to Mörike a copy of *Sommergeschichten und Lieder*, which contained *Immensee*. In his reply Mörike praised Storm's work, but added: "Nur hie und da — in der Erzählung *Immensee* — mag man vielleicht etwas mehr individuelle Bestimmtheit wünschen." He did not suggest that Storm had borrowed from his work, but he may well have smiled as he penned the concluding statement: "Höchst angenehm frappiert hat mich die große Ähnlichkeit Ihres Nordens mit unsrer süddeutschen Gefühls- und Anschauungsweise."<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> I. 303. Da hörte er oben im Hause eine Tür gehen; . . . stand Elisabeth vor ihm. . . . Er tat einen Schritt vorwärts und streckte die Arme nach ihr aus.

<sup>26</sup> Hanns Wolfgang Rath: Briefwechsel zwischen Theodor Storm und Eduard Mörike. Stuttgart, Julius Hoffmann, 1919. Page 19.

## PROBLEMATIK UND PROBLEME DER KAFKA-FORSCHUNG

HEINZ POLITZER  
*Bryn Mawr College*

Das charakteristische Stilmerkmal von Franz Kafkas Werk ist das Paradox. Seine Sprache ist die ebene und kühle Sprache der deutschen Anekdote – etwa Johann Peter Hebels oder Heinrichs von Kleist –, aber der Gehalt seiner Dichtungen ist kryptisch. Sein Stil ist der eines unbedingten Realismus; was sich aber durch diesen Realismus ausspricht, ist ein Geheimnis oder, genauer gesagt, die Unenträtselbarkeit eines Geheimnisses. Seine Vortragsweise ist gelassen und beinahe heiter; dahinter aber lauert abgründige Verzweiflung. Von Tod und Schrecken, Furcht und Zittern kündigt er, jedoch im Tonfall einer transparenten Ironie. Er beginnt: „Es war einmal . . .“ und setzt das Märchen fort: „ . . . der Untergang der Gegenwart.“ Er ist, wie Thomas Mann einmal sagte, ein „religiöser Humorist“. Wo immer und von welchem Standort auch man Franz Kafkas Werk anrührt, man wird immer einem Paradox begegnen.

Paradox ist schon der Ausgangspunkt aller Kafka-Forschung: In seinem Nachwort zu der ersten Ausgabe des „Prozeß“-Fragments hat Max Brod das literarische Testament des toten Freundes veröffentlicht:

„Liebster Max, meine letzte Bitte: Alles, was sich in meinem Nachlaß . . . an Tagebüchern, Manuskripten, Briefen, fremden und eignen, Gezeichnetem und so weiter findet, restlos und ungelesen zu verbrennen, ebenso alles Geschriebene oder Gezeichnete, das Du und andre, die Du in meinem Namen darum bitten sollst, haben. Briefe, die man Dir nicht übergeben will, soll man wenigstens selbst zu verbrennen sich verpflichten. Dein Franz Kafka“.<sup>1</sup>

Max Brod hat dem letzten Willen seines Freundes radikal zuwidergehandelt und das literarische Werk Franz Kafkas mit einiger Vollständigkeit veröffentlicht. Er hat freilich nirgendwo ausgesprochen, daß er die Paradoxie, die diesem Vermächtnis zugrundeliegt, auch voll erkannt hätte. Franz Kafka wollte sein Werk zweifellos allen Ernstes vernichtet sehen, zugleich aber vertraute er diese Exekution jenem Freunde an, von dem er mit aller Wahrscheinlichkeit annehmen durfte, er werde sie nicht vollziehen. Es handelt sich hier um das gleiche Abschieben der Verantwortung, das Kafka auch in anderen Entscheidungen seines Lebens, wie zum Beispiel in den fünf Jahren seiner Brautschaft mit F. hat zutage treten lassen. Aber ebenso wie sein Verhältnis zu F. nach dem Vorbild von Kierkegaards Verlöbnis mit Regine Olsen modelliert und letztlich religiös begründet war, so hat auch sein literarisches Testament den Charakter einer überpersönlichen Resignation. Brods Mitteilung, Kafka habe „freilich stets nur von einem ‚Kritzeln‘“<sup>2</sup> gesprochen, wenn er sein

<sup>1</sup> Franz Kafka, *Der Prozeß*, Schocken Verlag, Berlin, 1935, p. 278. (Alle Zitate aus Kafka sind nach der ersten Gesamtausgabe seines Werks angegeben, die von Max Brod in Gemeinschaft mit Heinz Politzer besorgt wurde).

<sup>2</sup> Nachwort zum *Prozeß*, *ibid.*, p. 277.

Werk erwähnte, wird durch Tagebucheintragungen wie die folgende widerlegt:

„Die besondere Art meiner Inspiration, in der ich Glücklicher und Unglücklicher jetzt um zwei Uhr nachts schlafen gehe, . . . ist die, daß ich alles kann, nicht nur auf eine bestimmte Arbeit hin. Wenn ich wahllos einen Satz hinschreibe, z. B. ‚Er schaute aus dem Fenster‘, so ist er schon vollkommen.“<sup>3</sup>

Ganz deutlich hat Kafka nicht darum die Vernichtung seines Werks verfügt, weil er an seinem literarischen Vermögen verzweifelt wäre. Gerade weil er sich der Abgründigkeit und Gültigkeit seiner Gesichte, ihrer „Vollkommenheit“ voll bewußt war, wünschte er sie zu opfern in einer Art von religiösem Enthusiasmus, der an die Opferung Isaaks gemahnt. Es war sein Erstling, den er darbringen und es war seine Schöpfung, die „Spur von seinen Erdentagen“, die er bewahren wollte. Wie in seiner Brautzeit entschied er die Ambivalenz zwischen Lebenstrieb und Gottesfurcht *prinzipiell* nach der negativen Seite, *praktisch* jedoch dadurch, daß er sich persönlich der Entscheidung entzog.

So verdankt die Kafka-Forschung schlechthin ihre Existenz Max Brod. Ohne Brods Aktivität, ohne seinen Entschluß, den Willen des Freundes zu mißachten, hätte das Werk Kafkas das Licht der Welt nicht erblickt. Wäre er Kafka ähnlicher, wäre er gewissenhafter – das Wort im ursprünglichen Sinn verstanden – gewesen, er hätte den Wunsch des Verstorbenen erfüllt. (Aber die Unähnlichkeit mag wohl der tiefste Grund dieser seltsamen Freundschaft gewesen sein).

Auf Max Brod jedoch geht auch das Ur-Übel aller Kafka-Interpretation zurück, nämlich die unmittelbare Übersetzung der dichterischen Bilder in die Sprache der Theologie, der Philosophie oder der Psychologie und die damit zwangsläufig verbundene Verflachung ihres dichterischen Werts. Max Brod hat aus dem Werk Franz Kafkas Programm-Musik gemacht. Zwar ist es ihm schon früh gelungen, die Helden Kafkas in den Zusammenhang der europäischen Glaubens- und Gesellschaftskrise einzuordnen. Als er aber, in seinem Nachwort zu der ersten Ausgabe des „Schloß“-Fragments, die Herrschaft des Schlosses rundweg mit dem theologischen Begriff der „Gnade“ identifizierte,<sup>4</sup> öffnete er Jenen ein Loch, die in diesem Werk lediglich eine Summe religiöser oder anderer Symbole sehen wollten, deren Auflösung durch theologische oder andere Schlüsselbegriffe den Zugang zu Kafkas Visionen ohne weiteres erschließen sollte. Max Brod hat der Nachwelt das Werk Franz Kafkas erhalten, er hat entscheidende Beiträge zu seiner Einordnung in die zeitgenössische und in die Weltliteratur geleistet, er ist aber auch der erste gewesen, der vergaß, daß es sich im Werk Franz Kafkas vornehmlich um eine literarische Leistung handle.

Die Schriften Franz Kafkas sind ein autoritatives Selbstbekenntnis der europäischen Krise. Die Ordnung der menschlichen Gesellschaft

<sup>3</sup> Unter dem Datum: 19.2. (1911). In: *Franz Kafka, Tagebücher und Briefe*, Heinrich Mercy, Prag, 1937, p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Franz Kafka, *Das Schloß*, Schocken Verlag, Berlin, 1935, p. 417.



sind zerbrochen, der moderne Mensch ist der Weltnacht preisgegeben (in sie „geworfen“), ohne daß ihm aus der Natur oder dem Übernatürlichen Hilfe würde. Die Lebensmächte, die „Mütter“ Goethes, sind dem Menschen der Moderne völlig entrückt, sie sind ungreifbar, unanredbar, unsagbar und damit auch unübersetzbar geworden. Es ist kein Zufall, daß sowohl der „Prozeß“ wie das „Schloß“ an jener Stelle abbrechen, an der die zuständige Lebensmacht, der Gerichtshof dort, die Schloßherrschaft hier, hätte in Erscheinung treten müssen. Darum ist paradoxerweise das Fragment die einzige Form gewesen, in der Kafka seine Erkenntnis der Verlorenheit des modernen Menschen, der Krise, in vollkommener Weise hatte darstellen können.<sup>5</sup> Er selbst hat den unlösbaren Gleichnischarakter seines Werks ausgesprochen:

„Alle diese Gleichnisse wollen eigentlich nur sagen, daß das Unfaßbare unfaßbar ist, und das haben wir gewußt“.<sup>6</sup>

In den Folgejahren ist Max Brod in seiner Entgeheimnisung des dichterisch Verhüllten, in seiner Übersetzung des Unsagbaren noch weitergegangen. Heute scheidet er zwischen den Aphorismen und dem dichterischen Werk Franz Kafkas. Jene zeigen den Dichter als

„einen religiösen Helden vom Rang eines Propheten, der um seinen Glauben unter tausend Anfechtungen ringt, wobei er aber des Himmels, des Transzendenten im Wesentlichen gewiß ist“, diese „den halt- und ratlosen Menschen, zu dem hin jener Urglaube nur von ferne, fast unerreichbar, fast unverständlich, wie eine dunkle Ahnung erklingt“.<sup>7</sup>

Aber das dichterische wie das Aphorismenwerk Kafkas bildet eine kompakte Einheit und ist in voller Einheitlichkeit der *einen* Aufgabe gewidmet, den kritischen Stand des Modernen, die Unsagbarkeit des Unsagbaren, die Unerreichbarkeit der Transzendenz auszusagen. Dabei ist Kafka weder ein Atheist noch ein Nihilist. Er weiß um das Vorhandensein der Lebensmächte. Daß sie vorhanden sind, macht ihre Unsagbarkeit, ihre Unerreichbarkeit noch schmerzlicher. „Unendlich viel Hoffnung, — nur nicht für uns“.<sup>8</sup>

Auf Brods Übersetzungsmethode beruht weitgehend die gründliche, aber nüchterne Arbeit Harald Taubers,<sup>9</sup> die seit kurzem auch in einer englischen Übersetzung vorliegt.

„Kafka avails himself“ nach Tauber „of the old rights of poetic licence, using landscapes to symbolize states of mind, houses and rooms as symbols of personality, men and animals to

<sup>5</sup> Jeder Aphorismus Kafkas läßt sich zu einem mit Notwendigkeit fragmentarischen Roman ausspinnen. Jede seiner größeren fragmentarischen Erzählungen läßt sich in einem Aphorismus zusammenfassen. Wie Novalis hat auch Kafka die innere Verwandtschaft zwischen Aphorismus und epischem Fragment dargetan.

<sup>6</sup> Franz Kafka, *Beschreibung eines Kampfes*, Heinrich Mercy, Prag, 1936, p. 95.

<sup>7</sup> Max Brod, *Franz Kafkas Glauben und Lehre* (Kafka und Tolstoi), Mondial Verlag, Winterthur, 1948, p. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Max Brod, *Franz Kafka, Eine Biographie*, Heinrich Mercy, Prag, 1937, p. 95.

<sup>9</sup> Harald Tauber, *Franz Kafka, Eine Deutung seiner Werke*, Oprecht & Helbling, Zürich, 1941.

symbolize aspects of their own ego, and even representing Fate as a function of character".<sup>10</sup>

Der Auflösung und Übertragung Kafkas, Werk für Werk und beinahe Kapitel nach Kapitel, ist Taubers Buch gewidmet. Aber die Symbole der neuen europäischen Epik, und nun gar der Prosa Kafkas,<sup>11</sup> kennen nicht mehr die schöne Freiheit des antiken, des klassischen Dichters, die es der Phantasie erlaubt, ein Bild für die Wirklichkeit zu setzen, das in der Rück-Übersetzung einfach „aufgeht“, wie eine mathematische Gleichung. Gewiß ist Kafkas Realismus symbolisch intentioniert. Aber in ihm gibt es keine einzelne Metapher, kein analysierbares Einzelmotiv mehr. Im Ganzen genommen deutet dieser Realismus auf ein Überwirkliches hin, das er deutlich machen weder kann noch soll. Denn der Charakter des Überwirklichen besteht in seiner Undeutbarkeit und die Aufgabe des Kafkaschen Realismus in seiner Symbollosigkeit. Nur darin, daß dieser Realismus im Einzelnen symbollos ist, ist er im Gesamten ein Symbol für die Entfernung der Lebensmächte von der Welt der Moderne. Max Brod hat einmal mit Recht im Zusammenhang mit Kafka das Wort Flauberts zitiert: „Durch Ritzen nimmt man Abgründe wahr“. Durch die Ritzen in Kafkas Realismus schimmert, als Ahnung, jene Hoffnung, die „nicht für uns“ ist. Ein solcher Realismus entzieht sich der Analyse im Einzelnen.

Jedoch haben sich, durch Brods Vorgang ermutigt, schon früh Deuter, das heißt Übersetzer, des Kafkaschen Werks gefunden. Zwei Schulen zeichnen sich vor allem ab: die religiöse und die psychologische.

Für den katholischen Deuter muß demnach Kafka der nach der Erlösung, der „Gnade“, dem „Schloss“ gehende Jude sein, dem die Erlösung versagt bleibt, da er den Erlöser selbst nicht anzunehmen vermag.

„Der spätjüdische Dichter Kafka ist ein homo religiosus, der die anima naturaliter Christiana leugnet. Er bleibt stehen in dem Raume zwischen der Uroffenbarung und der Offenbarung Gottes in Seinem Sohne Christus Jesus. Kafkas Welt ist die der Vorhölle . . .“<sup>12</sup>

Die protestantische Deutung Franz Kafkas ist insofern fruchtbarer, als Kafka sich selbst oft im Bilde des protestantischen Denkers Sören Kierkegaard gesehen hat.<sup>13</sup> So wie die Theologie der Krise protestantischen

<sup>10</sup> Harald Tauber, *Franz Kafka, An Interpretation of his Works*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1948, p. IX.

<sup>11</sup> Über Symbol, Allegorie und Metapher bei Kafka siehe auch: Günther Anders, *Franz Kafka-pro und contra*, in: *Neue Rundschau*, Stockholm, VI, 1947, pp. 119-157, besonders pp. 139-143.

<sup>12</sup> Ignaz Zangerle, *Die Bestimmung des Dichters*, in *Der Brenner*, Innsbruck, XVI, 1946, pp. 155-161.

<sup>13</sup> Siehe u. a.: „Ich habe heute Kierkegaards Buch des Richters bekommen. Wie ich es ahnte, ist sein Fall trotz wesentlicher Unterschiede dem meinen sehr ähnlich, zumindest liegt er auf der gleichen Seite der Welt. Er bestätigt mich wie ein Freund. Ich entwerfe folgenden Brief an den Vater – (des Mädchens, mit dem Kafka sich später verlobte. Die Verlobung wurde aufgelöst. H. P.) den ich morgen, wenn ich die Kraft habe, wegschicken will.“ *Tagebücher*, 21. 8. 1913 – *Gesammelte Schriften*, VI. 98.

Ursprungs ist, so ist diesem exemplarischen Dichter der Krise durch protestantische Interpretation mancherlei aufschlußreiche Gerechtigkeit widerfahren.

Aus Kafkas selbsteingestandener Schülerschaft zu Kierkegaard erklärt sich auch im Wesentlichen der Anspruch, den die Kierkegaard- und Heidegger-Schüler Sartre und Camus, die französischen Existentialisten mit ihnen, auf Kafka erhoben haben. Es war besonders Albert Camus, der auf das Paradox als ein Charaktermerkmal von Kafkas Stil und auf die Unlösbarkeit seiner Symbole hingewiesen hat:

„There are works in which the events seem natural to the reader. But there are others (rarer, it is true) in which the character accepts what happens as natural. By a singular but evident paradox, the more extraordinary the adventures of the character the more perceptible will be the naturalness of the narrative: this is proportional to the separation that can be felt between the strangeness of a man's life and the implicitness with which he accepts it. This, it seems, is the naturalness of Kafka.“<sup>14</sup>

Eine gründliche Einordnung Kafkas in den deutsch-jüdischen Zusammenhang steht noch aus. Max Brod hat wesentliches geleistet, als er, unter dem Einfluß Martin Bubers, die beinahe ungebrochene Deszendenz des Dichters aus dem biblischen Judentum unterstrichen hat.

Die psychologische, psychoanalytische Durchdringung von Kafkas Werk setzte mit der ersten Welle seines Ruhms in den Jahren 1927-1933 ein.<sup>15</sup> Sie hat in der Folgezeit wahre Orgien gefeiert, die etwa in Charles Neider's „The Frozen Sea“<sup>16</sup> gipfelten, einem Buch, das unzuständig ist sowohl in der Anwendung der literarhistorischen Methode psychoanalytischer Observanz wie auch in der Anordnung und Ausdeutung des einfachen geschichtlichen Materials.

Dabei rennt die psychoanalytische Methode, auf Kafka angewandt, Türen ein, die ihr so offen standen, wie selten in einem zeitgenössischen Werk. Es kann kein Zweifel daran bestehen, daß Kafka selbst die Vater-Sohn-Beziehung im Sinn der Freud'schen Lehre erfaßt hatte. Jener hundert Seiten lange Brief an den Vater, in dem Franz Kafka sein Lebensproblem dargestellt und den er nie abgesandt hatte,<sup>17</sup> zeigt ihn instinktiv vertraut mit den Grunderkenntnissen und der therapeutischen Absicht der Psychoanalyse. Eine Novelle wie „Die Verwandlung“ setzt dann die Oedipus-Situation, die Stellung des Sohnes zum Vater und zur Familie, in dichterische Gestalt um. Aber es kann auch kein Zweifel daran bestehen, daß hier, kaum eine Generation nach Sigmund Freud, in Kafka Einer gekommen war, der das zur Vater-Imago enthronte und deposedierte Bild Gottes wieder in seinen ursprünglichen Rang innerhalb des

<sup>14</sup> Albert Camus, *Hope and Absurdity*, in: *The Kafka Problem*, New Directions, New York City, 1946, p. 252.

<sup>15</sup> Hellmuth Kaiser, *Franz Kafkas Inferno, Eine psychologische Deutung seiner Strafphantasie*, Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, Wien, 1931.

<sup>16</sup> Charles Neider, *The Frozen Sea*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1948.

<sup>17</sup> Max Brod hat dieses zentrale Dokument bis heute nicht zur Gänze veröffentlicht.

Glaubens einsetzte. In der Novelle „Das Urteil“ wird ein alltäglicher Vater mit den Attributen Gottes, Allmacht und Allwissenheit, ausgestattet. Er fordert von seinem Sohn das Leben, das er ihm gegeben hat, zurück und der Sohn nimmt das Gottesurteil denn auch auf sich. Die Bedeutung Franz Kafkas und seines Werks liegt nun keineswegs darin, daß es sich auf die psychoanalytische Terminologie abziehen läßt, sondern darin, daß es die Erkenntnisse Freuds rektifiziert und zwar auf dem Grund und in der Situation der Krise. Wie die von Charles Neider nicht mit Unrecht „Kabbalisten“<sup>18</sup> genannten theologischen Ausdeuter des Kafkaschen Werks, haben auch seine psychologischen Interpreten nichts anderes unternommen als den Versuch, ein an sich Unübersetzbare in eine begriffliche Sprache zu übersetzen. Der Rest ist Schweigen.

Es kann jedoch nicht übersehen werden, daß Kafkas Ruhm gerade in Amerika an die psychoanalytische Anfälligkeit seines Werkes geknüpft ist. Als im Jahre 1930 die englische Übersetzung des „Schloß“-Fragmentes in Amerika erschien, reagierten lediglich solch unentwegt fortschrittliche Zeitschriften wie „Nation“ und „New Yorker“ mit Kritik. Kafkas Zeit war in Amerika noch nicht gekommen. Erst mit der englischen Veröffentlichung des „Prozeß“-Romans im Jahre 1937 setzte der Kafka-Kult in diesem Lande in vollem Umfang ein. Zu dieser Zeit war aber auch die Psychoanalyse schon ein entscheidender Faktor im öffentlichen Leben Amerikas geworden.

Die jungen Intellektuellen, die Franz Kafka als erste begrüßten, identifizierten sich leicht mit den neurotischen Figuren seines Werks. Es war vor allem das Motiv der Vereitelung (frustration), das sie anzog. Sie, die begonnen hatten, an Russland zu verzweifeln und darum mit der Aussicht auf die Verwirklichung des Sozialismus ihren letzten Religions-Ersatz eingebüßt hatten, fanden sich in den enttäuschten, illusionslosen, landflüchtigen und der Wirklichkeit abhanden gekommenen Helden Kafkas wieder. Aber Kafkas Werk ist keine Ersatz-Religion, sondern die Feststellung, daß neben den anderen Lebensmächten auch der Gottesglaube für den modernen Menschen verloren ist. Als eine solche Feststellung hat Kafkas Werk nicht politico-psychologischen, sondern religions- und kulturgeschichtlichen Charakter. Insofern die Kafka-Mode auf der Übersetzung von Kafkas Symbolen in die Sprache der Psychoanalyse begründet ist, beruht sie auf einem krassen Mißverständnis. Es bedarf keiner sibyllinischen Einsicht, um vorherzusagen, daß ihre Tage gezählt sind.<sup>19</sup>

Einen Wendepunkt in der amerikanischen Kritik Kafkas stellt Edmund Wilson's „A Dissenting Opinion on Kafka“ dar.<sup>20</sup> Wilson tritt zuweilen zu weit von seinem Gegenstand zurück und untertreibt aus Angst vor Übertreibung. Es gelingt ihm jedoch, Kafka richtig in die

<sup>18</sup> Charles Neider, *The Cabalists*, in: *The Kafka Problem*, pp. 398-445.

<sup>19</sup> Eine Umwertung des Kafka-Bildes für die literarische Avantgarde unternimmt Robert Warshow in: *Kafka's Failure*, *Partisan Review*, XVI, 4, April, 1949.

<sup>20</sup> *The New Yorker*, July 26, 1947, pp. 58-64.



Weltliteratur einzureihen, indem er Kafkas kurze Erzählungen mit denen Gogols und Poe's vergleicht:

„Like them, they are realistic nightmares that embody in concrete imagery the manias of neurotic states“.

Wilson's Verdikt:

„I do not see how one can passibly take him for either a great artist or a moral guide“,

wird die Kafka-Forschung nun ihrerseits zu interpretieren haben, nämlich als gegen die Mitläufer der Kafka-Mode und nicht gegen ihren halb unschuldigen Urheber gerichtet, gegen die superlativistische Überschätzung des Werkes mehr als gegen Kafkas Errungenschaften, denen Wilson Gerechtigkeit widerfahren zu lassen deutlich bemüht ist. Auch mag es sein, daß Kafkas

„arid reasonings and tyrannous rigidities of orthodox Judaism (which have a good deal in common with those of our old-fashioned Puritan Protestantism)“

in Wilson Widerstände ausgelöst haben, die weniger dem Dichter als Wilson's eigenen Ursprüngen gelten. Im Ganzen genommen, hat Wilson's Aufsatz nicht unerheblich dazu beigetragen, den blauen Dunst aufzuhellen, den die „Übersetzer“ und „Kabbalisten“ um die Person des Dichters geblasen haben, so daß die Proportionen seines Werks und die Umrisse seiner Gestalt unklar geworden sind. In diesem Sinne hat auch André von Gronicka Wilson's Aufsatz begrüßt als

„an eminently sober and sobering statement, well-balanced and well-informed, striving to reduce the Kafka 'legend' to its proper proportions“.<sup>21</sup>

Am Beginn einer ernsthaften Kafka-Forschung wird demnach wie am Beginn einer jeden Forschungsarbeit Verzicht zu stehen haben, der Verzicht nämlich auf die allzu billige unmittelbare Übersetzung der Kafkaschen Symbolsprache in einen der gerade im Schwange befindlichen Dialekte, sei es der Jargon der existentialistischen Philosophie, der Theologie der Krise oder der Psychoanalyse. Es wäre wünschenswert, wenn dieses Dichtwerk endlich als das betrachtet, eingeordnet und abgeschätzt würde, was es seinem Wesen nach ist, nämlich als ein literarisches Dokument erster Ordnung.

Hiezu ist es freilich unerlässlich, daß der Text in einer philologisch einwandfreien und unzensurierten Ausgabe vorliege. Kein einfaches Unternehmen, da sowohl die Erzählungen wie die Aphorismen oft unmittelbar aus den Tagebüchern hervorgegangen und mit ihnen auf kaum lösbare Art verwachsen sind. Außerdem hat Kafka häufig mehrerer Anläufe bedurft, um sich „einzuschreiben“, so daß der Anfang vieler Kapitel in mehreren Fassungen vorliegt, von denen die letzte nicht immer die literarisch glücklichste ist. Das erste und letzte Ziel der Kafka-Forschung

<sup>21</sup> André von Gronicka, *Franz Kafka*, Gesammelte Schriften, Dritte Ausgabe. Buchbesprechung in: *The Germanic Review*, Vol. XXIII, Columbia University Press, February 1948, p. 74.

wäre demnach die Herstellung einer kritischen, mit Lesarten und Konjekturen versehenen Gesamtausgabe. Diese böte dann freilich aus den erwähnten Gründen einen unschätzbaren Beitrag zur Psychologie des schöpferischen Prozesses.

Eine weitere dankenswerte Aufgabe böte eine stilkritische Untersuchung von Kafkas Sprache. Selbst hier, im Stoff der Sprache, begegnet Kafka seinem Leser mit einem Paradox. Er ist im Sprachlichen nach Vollendung gegangen, mit einer Exaktheit und zugleich Feinnervigkeit, die oft an Marcel Proust denken läßt. Aber ihrer Substanz nach war diese Sprache nicht rein. In Tonfall und Idiomatismus, ja selbst in der Wortwahl und im grammatischen Duktus macht sich jenes Prager Deutsch geltend, das von der slavischen, czechischen Nachbarschaft und auch vom Prager Judendeutsch reichlich getönt ist. Eben diese eigentümliche Färbung trägt entscheidend dazu bei, jenseits von allem Lokalkolorit die Ironie von Kafkas Erzählungen zu erhöhen. Er hat aus einem nicht völlig rein bewältigtem Material einen reinen, völlig beherrschten und nur ihm selbst eigentümlichen Stil gebildet. Darüber hinaus wäre die Meisterschaft einer Untersuchung wert, mit der Kafka die Dramatik des epischen Geschehens in der Dynamik seiner Sprache ausgeprägt hat.<sup>22</sup>

Stoffgeschichtlich kann Kafkas Werk nicht ohne authentische Zeichnung des historischen Hintergrunds erfaßt werden. In mehr als einem Sinn hat er die Größe, den Übermut und den Untergang der österreichischen Doppelmonarchie und damit des noch stabilisierten Vorkriegs-Europa in seinem Werk ausgesprochen.<sup>23</sup> Das Zwischenreich der Beamten im „Schloß“ und im „Prozeß“ etwa bietet nicht nur das Grauen einer eschatologischen Vision, sondern auch eine gesunde geschichtliche Satire auf die altösterreichische Bürokratie. Einen Versuch zur Koordinierung des historischen Hintergrunds mit dem Werk Kafkas hat erst vor kurzem Willy Haas, einer der Freunde aus der Prager Zeit, unternommen.<sup>24</sup>

Von hier aus sollte es dann gelingen, Kafkas Werk in die Tradition der österreichischen Erzählung einzureihen, ihn etwa gegen den von ihm geliebten Stifter abzugrenzen und ihm einen Platz neben Rilkes „Malte Laurids Brigge“ und Hofmannsthals „Andreas“-Fragment einzuräumen.

An der Grenze zweier Erdteile, zweier geschichtlicher Epochen lebend hat Franz Kafka eines der Endwerke der bürgerlichen Zivilisation Europas geschaffen. Eine letztgültige Darstellung seiner Dichtung wird nur in einer Arbeit möglich sein, die der Zusammenschau *aller* literarischen Denkmäler aus dem Zeitalter der europäischen Krise gewidmet ist.

<sup>22</sup> Als einen Schritt in diese Richtung siehe auch: Heinz Politzer, „Give it up!“ in: *The Kafka Problem*, pp. 117-121.

<sup>23</sup> Siehe jetzt: Pavel Eisner, *Franz Kafka and Prague*, New York, 1950.

<sup>24</sup> Vilém Haas, *Prague in 1912*, in: *The Virginia Quarterly Review*, Vol. XXIV, Summer 1948, pp. 409-417.

## MODERN LANGUAGE STUDY — A NECESSITY IN OUR TIME

R. O. RÖSELER  
*University of Wisconsin*

The exigencies of modern life have drawn, during the last few decades, the whole civilized world into a community of vital interests that renders imperative a knowledge of foreign modern languages. Hence no modern state of importance fails to include in the work of its schools the study of the languages of its most important neighbors. The choice of the particular languages to be studied, and the amount of attention devoted to their pursuit, varies naturally with the traditional, geographical, industrial, political, and cultural relations of the individual state to its fellow states in the commonwealth of the world. The usefulness of the study depends, of course, in any given instance upon the importance of the role played in the past and present by the people whose language is studied, upon the effectiveness of linguistic work attempted, i. e. the preparation and the qualification of the language teachers, and upon the maturity of the national mind of the student. The point here stressed is that the awakening of the minds of all progressive modern peoples to the predominant importance of international cooperation in practically all fields of human endeavor has already made, during the last few decades, the study of modern foreign languages an integral part of all the leading systems of national education.

Our country has shared with other nations a gradual recognition of the increasing importance of the study of modern foreign languages. Progressive colleges and universities of high academic standing and leaders in the field of American education have frankly recognized the increasing closeness of the interdependence of the peoples of the earth in all fields of human interest and require from their students the study directed towards the acquisition of a thorough knowledge of at least one foreign language. Today, modern communication and transportation facilities have brought us close to all the countries of the world, and thousands of Americans in government, business, industry, and education now find themselves in close contact with people from other countries. Furthermore, our country is moving into a position of world leadership and will remain a leading world power. This position is now producing, and will continue to produce, in an increasing tempo international contacts; these contacts and the position of our country in the family of nations makes a knowledge of foreign languages and a thorough and extended study of modern foreign languages in our schools and colleges a necessity.

To fail to utilize for our own benefit, and for our own experiments in the task of civilization, all the light obtainable from the experiments

and experiences, past and present, of our neighbors elsewhere can only retard our national progress. It would indeed be a tragedy if in these days when our country is called upon to take world leadership, and will increasingly be called upon to take that leadership, our educators in schools and colleges should fail in the training of our young people, the next generation, our future leaders, executives, officials and citizens, in at least one modern foreign language. Men and women in government, foreign relations and military offices, in business, industry, commerce, in journalism, as authorities in contemporary history, as scholars, scientists, and educators, will undoubtedly be better equipped for their work when they are able to read at first hand the more recent journals, papers, and publications in their field of work and interests, and it will undoubtedly be of great advantage to them when they are able to understand and communicate with people speaking a different language and are not dependent upon an interpreter or compelled to wait for a tardy translation to appear. Perhaps the sanest reflection we could indulge in is that in our present world of unrest and instability the most difficult enemy to overcome is the unknown enemy. To be forced to deal with a foe whose powers, institutions, intentions, and ideals are not definitely known and to obtain a knowledge of his intentions, ends and aims largely through translations or through communications by a few select interpreters has always proved to be an expensive undertaking, if not a hopeless task.\* It is a case of necessity to include in our school and college curricula carefully planned, and effectively taught, courses in the most widely spoken and most important modern foreign languages. Every one of our high school students, endowed with the necessary ability, should be encouraged by his high school principal and his high school advisor to study one modern language besides his native tongue.

It might be of interest to the readers of the *Monatshefte* that a study made recently by Professor C. S. Espinosa, University of Omaha, and Professor Boyd G. Carter, University of Nebraska, under the auspices of the Modern Language Association of Nebraska revealed the fact "that the high schools of the State of Nebraska are providing less and less opportunity for their young people to study the language of other peoples." In 1948, for example, only five high schools in the whole state of Nebraska—excluding the cities of Omaha and Lincoln—offered either French or German. Spanish was found to be in a somewhat stronger position.

\* It all adds up to a grave conclusion: if our forces had been accompanied into Korea by an adequate staff of political officers who could talk to the people of Korea, many American soldiers who are dead would be alive . . . In some parts in Asia we would, with the best and most intelligent will in the world, be hard put to find enough Americans who can speak the language and who know the ways of the country concerned . . . During World War II in Europe the consequences of this attitude and these lacks were obvious enough. However we may fare again in Europe with our chronic neglect, we cannot get by with it in Asia. That is the lesson of Korea. John Osborne, "Guns Are Not Enough", in *Life*, August 21, 1950.



Seriously concerned over the small number of high schools in their state providing the opportunity to their students to study a modern foreign language, the Modern Language Association started a campaign to bring the study of foreign languages back into the high schools of the state. The Association received the support of outstanding educators, influential business men, administrators, editors of leading newspapers, members of the U. S. Congress of the state, lawyers, superintendents of public schools, etc., who expressed their willingness to support a foreign language program in the schools of Nebraska. A statement of the committee reads: "The gracious cooperation of these distinguished citizens, their belief in and sturdy support of the program contribute an optimism which offers consolation for present short-comings and justifies confidence in the future."

A number of statements that might be of interest to the readers of the *Monatshefte*, taken from Bulletin No. 1, are re-printed here with the kind permission of the members of the investigating committee: \*\*

#### Statements

I was indeed shocked to learn that only five high schools in out-state Nebraska offer either French or German in their curricula. Quite aside from the heavy load of pre-University work this throws on our faculty and on the faculties of other institutions of higher education, such a situation in today's world is deplorable. Tomorrow depends on our understanding of other people, and language study is one essential to that understanding. It does, consequently, seem most unfortunate to find the trend existing in which foreign languages are offered to fewer and fewer of our children — and future citizens.

Carl W. Borgmann

Dean of Faculties

University of Nebraska

If we are to live at peace with our neighbors, we must understand our neighbors. It is no secret that our well-meaning policies have met with reversals more than once, due primarily to a linguistic "faux pas". Time and again the world has looked in our direction, only to find a blank stare of surprise, of awe, of plain ignorance on our diplomatic visages. The conscientious study of foreign languages will enable us to get closer to our friends of the world by helping us to understand their problems,

\*\* These statements prove that the modern language teachers stand by no means alone in their requests and demands for an extended modern foreign language program in our public high schools. The decline of modern foreign language study is, as it is well known, not restricted to the state of Nebraska. Similar tendencies can be observed in many of our other states.

Especially the AATG and the AATF should become aware of the situation and should recognize the need of a carefully planned and carried out study of the reasons for the decline of language study in our public schools. Their elected representatives should assume the initiative in the task of encouraging the study of languages in the high schools of our country.

their mores, their objectives, their needs. Therefore, because I believe that this understanding can be brought about through familiarity with the language of others, I heartily recommend the teaching of foreign languages in our schools today in order to prepare our young people to be good peaceful neighbors of the world of tomorrow.

Carl C. Bracy, Chancellor  
Nebraska Wesleyan University

I strongly endorse including modern foreign language courses in the high school curriculum. . . . Today modern communication and transportation facilities have brought us close to all the countries of the world, and thousands of Americans in government, business, industry, and education now find themselves in close contact with people from other countries. Those without a foreign language background of any kind are at a decided disadvantage in trying to understand their European neighbors who are trained in foreign languages from early childhood.

Hugh Butler, U. S. Senator  
Nebraska

....I would point out that our country is moving into a position of world leadership and yet is one of the most backward of all nations in the matter of ability of its citizens to communicate intelligently with the people of other countries. This is a serious disability which must be remedied with all possible speed, and our high schools should be the chief agency for achieving this. Of this I am firmly convinced.

David L. Crawford  
President of Doane College

In a day when the world is rapidly shrinking and the various peoples are coming into closer and closer contact with one another, it is most surprising and disturbing to find that fewer and fewer young people are studying foreign languages in our high schools. As we come into closer contact with other people throughout the world, it becomes increasingly important for us to understand their languages and their philosophies of life. It is a most shortsighted policy for us at this time to neglect the study of foreign languages, for the person who is fitted for life in our inter-related world must necessarily know at least one language beside his own, and know it sufficiently well that he can communicate with other people in that language.

William Marshall French  
President, Hastings College

....I have been somewhat bewildered by the statements I have read regarding the inclusion in the high school program of courses to pre-

pare students to be citizens of the world while at the same time they are failing to provide work in foreign languages which would permit them to become more familiar with the customs and literature of foreign countries.

R. W. Goss

Dean, The Graduate College  
University of Nebraska

The decrease in the study of foreign languages in the high schools of Nebraska and elsewhere is certainly to be deplored. .... Instead of less emphasis on the study of modern foreign languages it should be more. If we are wise we shall take a tip from European educators who have their students in the secondary schools study two languages besides their own. The least we can do is to encourage all of our high school students endowed with the necessary ability to study one language besides their native tongue.

W. P. Hieronymus

President, Midland College

During and subsequent to World War II, this nation has been aroused to an awareness of strategic air power and has repeatedly avowed, through its elected representatives and in the press, its faith in national air power as a guarantor of peace. Our efforts to create a global air arm of adequate size and composition to forestall the designs of aggression have repeatedly brought to light new and unforeseen problems, one of which is a dearth of experienced linguists, even when civilian sources are explored. It is increasingly clear that in broadening the national horizons, our military and commercial air organizations must hurdle the language barriers encountered by trade, alliances, or other forms of cooperative action by world states. Linguistic experts are always too few; the real solution involves a working knowledge of one or more languages by sufficient numbers of persons to aid our undertakings. .... I regard the fostering and improvement of foreign language courses as highly commendable.

Curtis E. LeMay, Lt. Gen., USAF

Commanding General

Offutt Air Force Base, Omaha

.... Since coming to Washington my belief that foreign languages should be taught in our schools has been greatly strengthened. Here we have people from every country in the world and the person with a knowledge of their language is in a much better position than those who know only

English. I want to go on record in favor of the program of the Modern Language Association of Nebraska to increase teaching of foreign languages.

Eugene D. O'Sullivan  
Member of Congress,  
Second Nebraska District

The study of modern languages is more important in the business world today than ever before. This era of air and radio brings the languages and people of the world to our doorstep. This is particularly true when a business exports its products or imports its merchandise. In order to understand well the foreign markets of a country, it is necessary to know the language. In knowing the language, I would like to emphasize the fact that one should be able to speak it and understand it, not only write and read it . . . This certainly calls for an improvement of teaching of foreign languages in our high schools and colleges.

Lloyd E. Skinner, President  
Skinner Mfg. Co., Omaha

Your communication has been forwarded to me here. Here I am in Havana....unable to speak Spanish. I don't know what could more eloquently express my conviction that the teaching of foreign languages has practical as well as cultural value. The time was when a person from our part of the country had little hope of realizing more than cultural value and satisfaction from his foreign language studies. But that day is past. In this shrinking world it becomes increasingly important to have practical knowledge of languages other than our own. I am wholeheartedly in sympathy with the objectives of the Nebraska Association of Modern Language Teachers.

Lawrence W. Youngman  
Owner, Travel and Transport, Inc.,  
Omaha, Nebraska

....With an eye to the very near future, it becomes apparent that a study of at least one modern foreign language becomes almost a necessity. Every tongue we can master will be a key to the minds and hearts of more of the world's citizens, and we will be able to carry on our international relations personally.

Glenn Cunningham, Mayor  
Omaha, Nebraska

Last week I had a letter from the Modern Language Association of Nebraska, expressing concern over the small number of high schools in the state which offered their students the opportunity to study a foreign language. The concern is not local, but nation-



wide. If you haven't read "Quackery in the Public Schools" in the current *Atlantic*, by all means look it up. It is a provocative article, even though it may be somewhat onesided and unfair. Its thesis is that the "super-professionals"—the men who run the teachers colleges and indirectly run the schools by setting the standards for professional advancement—have made a cult of educating educators in such fripperies as indicated by courses like "Administering the Teaching of Shorthand" and "Teaching the Administration of Teaching Shorthand", at the expense of fundamentals—such as, for example, the world's greatest literature; or language; or history.

Now, judging by some educational directives that come to my desk, "enrichment" is the thing. "Enrichment" seems to be a process learned from the bakers of factory bread, by which you juice up education, if not with ultra-violet and vitamin compounds, at least with compound words.

Raymond A. McConnell, Jr.  
Editor, *The Lincoln Journal*

....The world in which we live today, a confusion of tongues, and a cauldron of cross-purposes, is not solely the world dominated by the three R's. The world today is a very complicated globe in which it has seemed that the study of languages to facilitate communication between peoples who speak different tongues is just about one of the most important tasks in education. It may be that this half of the twentieth century is the age of Americas. It is obvious that in the case of Germany and France, if American efforts are to succeed, the common bond of language becomes more important.

....Now we are engaged in a cold war with Russia into which we are pouring billions to contain the spread of communism to present occupied territory, and to preserve on earth a portion of soil where men with ideals of freedom may live in security. The great difficulty between the Russian people and the American public is that they speak totally different languages. There is no common communication. They are strangers to us and we are strangers to them.

Today, after years of emphasis upon vocational training, the time has arrived to talk a little bit about a liberal education. There is a place in the world for the study of languages, and an urgency for the study of all those subjects which constitute the heart of the college of arts and science. There is a place for liberal education which is what the college of arts and science offers to the young man or young woman. Our world is a world in which knowledge of culture and civilization wherever it may be found, and in what status it may be found, is pertinent to everyday living. In the new world into which we have marched so swiftly that today its clear outline is still obscure, more than satisfaction of the primitive needs of man to hold body and soul together may be

necessary. We will need to know human relationships and the social problems connected with them. We will need to know about government, including democracy, more than we ever have before. We will need to know languages, modern languages, more than we have heretofore. We will need to know the broad culture and civilization which has flowered here in this struggle that will continue for years.

James E. Lawrence  
Editor, *The Lincoln Star*

**Letters from school administrators relating to problems involved in initiating and continuing the foreign language program**

....It appears to me that the trend away from the classical and fine art subjects was due primarily to inadequate training of teachers. At one time administrators were forced to hire almost anyone who had a teaching minor in Language in order to present the subject. Naturally, the students preferred those subjects that could be presented in the most effective and interesting manner. Secondly, I feel the overemphasis on the word "need", as it is applied to our education program, is another barrier to the Language program. Administrators, boards of education, students, and communities interpreted the word "need" on an economic basis rather than on an educational level. This resulted in an increase in social science and vocational subjects, and a decrease in Languages

J. G. Burgeson, Superintendent  
Gordon Public Schools,  
Gordon, Nebraska

....I do not feel that the diminished interest in languages on the part of high school students is due to a lack of administrative interest. It is due to the attitudes of pupils and their parents who desire a practical type of education. It is also due to the attitudes of educators of vocational subjects and to other members in teacher-training institutions who have for years talked about the impracticability of the language program in our high schools. —Many of us also feel that the language program has not been taught too well, and in many instances pupils haven't even been given a reading knowledge of the language itself. Personally, I feel that if the program is to prosper, there ought to be some means developed to use the language as well as to read it.

Harry A. Burke, Superintendent  
Omaha Public Schools,  
Omaha, Nebraska

The problems involved in initiating and continuing a language program on the secondary level include the following:

1. First and foremost: The problem of being able to secure well qualified teachers year after year. ....

2. The colleges have set a pattern of foreign language teaching which is exceedingly hard to motivate in a secondary school situation. They have insisted upon making foreign language courses highly grammatical, and having placed far more emphasis on reading and writing the language than on speaking it. . . . High school students are not stimulated by this type of experience.

3. Developing interest in a foreign program is always made difficult by the fact that in years past foreign language classes have been considered some sort of "testing grounds" in which one could find out which students could "take it". In other words, they have been made purposely very tough courses in order to eliminate certain students. This doesn't increase their popularity among the masses of the students.

Charles H. Davis, Jr., Superintendent  
Scottsbluff Public Schools

....The difficulty which administrators have experienced in the matter of justifying the language courses lies in the fact that in so many instances a large percentage of the students who pursue the subject for one year do not become sufficiently interested in it to desire to enroll for a second year. ....In summing up the administrator's problems in the matter of initiating and conducting a language course, I would say that it is largely a question (of the language teacher) of being able to interest and to hold a sufficiently large number of students to justify the cost.

F. W. Kreizenbeck, Superintendent  
Ainsworth City Schools

Probably the most difficult problem facing superintendents and principals in the development of a genuinely effective modern language program in their high schools is to develop a feeling on the part of the high school students and the faculty that such instruction is to serve a functional and worthwhile objective. It seems to me that too many of our students and teachers approach modern language with an attitude that it is simply another course to be taken so that they can pile up some credits that will be useful to them later. To develop an effective program, the whole approach should be one of making the foreign language functional in the lives of the students. This means that students should be encouraged to start reading the language and using it in conversation very early in their experience; they should actually get into current literature and current materials published in the language being studied. Also, the teachers should try to develop an attitude that mastery of the language is something that will provide a broadening experience and a cultural education for the students who study it. ....Drill from textbooks will not suffice.

Galen Saylor, Chairman  
Department of Secondary Education,  
University of Nebraska

## NEWS AND NOTES

### IN MEMORIAM MARTIN SCHÜTZE

Professor Martin Schütze was born in Mecklenburg, Germany, on December 21, 1866 and died in Woodstock, New York, on July 19, 1950. He attended the Gymnasium at Güstrow and then studied law at the universities of Rostock and Freiburg. After coming to this country he was appointed Fellow in German at the University of Pennsylvania, where he received his Ph.D. degree in German Literature under M. D. Learned. Following one year as Instructor in German at Northwestern University he joined the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures of the University of Chicago and occupied the chair of German Literature until his retirement in 1933. In 1935 he held a visiting professorship at the University of Wisconsin while Professor Hohlfeld was on leave of absence. For the last twelve years he made his home in Woodstock, New York, where he had been actively associated with the Art Colony since its inception in 1902.

Martin Schütze was one of our most active scholars. His chief fields of investigation were Herder, Goethe, and Romanticism.

He is perhaps best known among us as the leading American authority on Herder. The publication in the early twenties of an extended series of essays on Herder was an event in the history of Herder scholarship both here and abroad. They altered materially the traditional conception of Herder contained primarily in the great work of Rudolf Haym. Martin Schütze, instead of seeing Herder against the Kantian background, chose to interpret him as an independent and original mind.

The first of these articles, significantly entitled "The Fundamental Ideas in Herder's Thought", appeared in *Modern Philology* from 1920 to 1923. They were followed in 1925 by a comprehensive study on "Herder's Psychology" and in 1926 by a discerning article on Herder's style written for the first issue of the *Germanic Review*. These essays aggregating close to 200 pages present a new unified and inclusive picture of Herder.

In 1944 Schütze published in *Monatshefte*, on invitation of the Editor-in-Chief, a major essay in commemoration of the two-hundredth anniversary of Herder's birth. This long article is held by many to be the best introduction to Herder's personality and total achievement available in any language. It has been aptly described as a whole course in Herder within the framework of a magazine article of thirty pages. If Martin Schütze's international reputation as our leading Herder scholar needed any reinforcement, this rich memorial article surely provided it.

So far as Professor Schütze's work on Goethe is concerned, it dealt primarily — and characteristically — with Goethe the poet and artist. It began with an edition in 1916 of Goethe's Poems prefaced by a notable essay of more than eighty pages on Goethe's poetry. In 1929 there followed an article in *Modern Philology* on "Das zusammenbrennende,



zusammentreffende Ganze in *Wilhelm Meister*". It was only natural for him to organize the Goethe Celebration of the University of Chicago in 1932. In connection with this he himself delivered an important address on Goethe as a Lyrical Poet and edited the other papers read on this occasion in a volume entitled "Goethe Centenary Papers" (Chicago and London: Open Court Publishing Co., 1933). Professor Schütze's abiding interest in Goethe led him to arrange again in 1949 a Goethe Festival in Woodstock. He again delivered the principal address.

In the general field of Romanticism the chief figures he investigated are Kleist and Grillparzer above all. His earliest publication in this area was a monograph of fifty-eight pages entitled "Studies in German Romanticism" and published by the University of Chicago Press in 1907. It deals with important contributions made by Romanticism to modern dramatic composition. In 1918 and 1919 there appeared in *Modern Philology* a series of three essays under the title "Studies in the Mind of Romanticism". As early as 1926 they were especially singled out by Paul Kluckhohn in his long review article on "Das Kleistbild der Gegenwart" in *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* as the outstanding American contribution in this field. These studies designated as most penetrating and wholly original by Kluckhohn were preceded in 1912 by an edition of Grillparzer's "Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen". This, like the edition of Goethe's Poems, is also prefaced by a substantial introductory essay of eighty-three pages on Grillparzer as a whole and Hero in particular.

There is a goodly number of other articles covering almost the entire length and breadth of modern German literature.<sup>1</sup> Not among the least of Schütze's scholarly endeavors are his numerous book reviews. Those on Herder, Goethe, and Schiller deserve special attention and are of more than passing interest. The most important of them is perhaps the review of Theodor Litt's "Kant und Herder als Deuter der geistigen Welt". It appeared in the *International Journal of Ethics* in 1931. Schütze strongly objected to Litt's view that poetic meaning is only a lesser representation, a "phenomenal" variant of a concept, instead of having as Schütze always taught a fundamental validity of its own not only co-ordinate with but actually superior to any conceptual formulation.

By American standards which alone are applicable to American university teachers of German with their many extra-scholarly duties undreamt-of by our European colleagues, Professor Martin Schütze's scholarly output was considerable. It alone would entitle him to a place of honor among the elite of American Germanists who have preceded him in death.

Comprehensive and significant as Martin Schütze's purely scholarly work has been, scholarship, academic and otherwise, it was not the only realm of activity in which he was engaged. Martin Schütze was more than a scholar: he was a poet and a creative thinker in his own right.

Besides two published volumes of verse, "Crux Aetatis" of 1904 and

<sup>1</sup> A complete bibliography of the writings of Professor Schütze is in process of being assembled by Mrs. Schütze.

"Songs and Poems" of 1914, there are two original poetic tragedies of distinction, "Hero and Leander" of 1908 and "Judith" of 1910, both published by Henry Holt and Company. Several other dramas as well as a considerable body of verse are still in manuscript.

The most important published book of Martin Schütze appeared within a month of his retirement from his professorship at the University of Chicago, in May, 1933. Although it left the press at the very end of his active career, it is a work that dates back in conception and partial execution to the very beginning of his teaching. It is the long-matured, oft-rewritten product of more than three decades of constant thinking about the peculiar nature and real essence of the humanities and about their proper place in higher education. This book has already made him famous: the author of "Academic Illusions in the Field of Letters and Arts" has long penetrated beyond the confines of our narrower field into the larger realm of literary study as a whole. It has been accepted as an indispensable book by distinguished scholars of comparative literature. It anticipated and corrects much of the New Criticism.

At a time when *Geistesgeschichte* was dominating literary research in Germany and when factualism was still very much in evidence in the Graduate Schools of America, Martin Schütze in "Academic Illusions" made bold to point out the inadequacy of both as valid techniques. It was of course not particularly difficult to attack factualism. The Germans themselves had done it and turned away from it. What was difficult and what took real courage was to assail *Geistesgeschichte* and to reject it as little if any better than the discarded factualism. But that is what Schütze undertook to do. The recent criticism of *Geistesgeschichte* was long ago executed by Martin Schütze in what appears to be a rather more systematic and philosophical manner.

In short, Professor Schütze branded factualism and *Geistesgeschichte* alike with their several and composite forms as essentially non-literary approaches to literary study. Permeated by a genuine love of literature and the other arts Martin Schütze decried the pseudoliterary methods of much that passed and posed as literary study in our universities.

But Professor Schütze had too positive and affirmative a mind to rest the case with this severe attack on the castle of established academic procedure in letters. Had he restricted himself to such negative action, he would already have performed valuable service. But his criticism did not derive from mere impotent dissatisfaction with ruling methodologies. It had issued from a thorough-going philosophical analysis of the problem of literary study as a whole. He had something to suggest and something better to put in the place of the practice he believed he saw round about him.

Thus after criticizing dialectical absolutism including such eminent practitioners as Gundolf and even Dilthey as well as the myriad adherents of one kind of factualism or another, Professor Schütze proceeded to present a new approach with his own theory of integral variables. This arresting new theory of literary study is found in the all-important third part of "Academic Illusions". The book ends with a fervent appeal and a comprehensive plan for reorganizing the academic study of letters and the arts. No reader agitated by the uncertain days upon which literary

study appears to have fallen can lay this authoritative volume down without being reminded of Rilke's lines:

"Man fühlt den Glanz von einer neuen Seite,  
auf der noch alles werden kann."

In "Academic Illusions" Martin Schütze had of necessity devoted a major share of the space at his disposal to tearing down non-literary methods of literary study; these appeared so firmly entrenched that only the most careful analysis would seem to have a chance of success. Therefore only the main principles of the new theory could be stated in outline as it were. Schütze himself was more aware than anybody else that these principles, though adequately formulated, stood in need of much further elucidation and especially exemplification. He consequently promised to do just that and announced in the preface to "Academic Illusions" that he was planning another book "in which these principles will be developed into a general cultural view of life".

Martin Schütze was granted seventeen years in which to carry out the promise he made at the age of sixty-six. In the face of little encouragement he worked unremittingly toward the goal he had set himself. Among the various articles and essays that appeared after 1933 only a very few can be selected here as steps toward the ultimate realization of his complete plan.

In 1936 he published in PMLA an article characteristically entitled "Toward a Modern Humanism". It "begins where 'Academic Illusions' leaves off" and attempts to put literature and its proper pursuit into a larger frame of reference, taking it out of the academic arena as it were and relating it to the cultural process as a whole. This highly important article is no longer merely concerned with the proper methodology of literary study by itself which had been the general subject of "Academic Illusions", but "with the part represented by letters and the arts in a philosophy of culture". On a few closely reasoned pages, fifteen to be exact, Schütze contends that the arts including literature are the very heart of human culture. The center of culture is not reducible to factual or conceptual constants. Any culture built primarily on the constants of science and philosophy is characterized by poverty and aridity. Letters and the arts on the other hand are held to engage all the powers of human personality in all their richness and variety. It is the integral variables of the humanities and not the constants of science which form the essence of culture. The humanities contribute more than the sciences to the formulation of truly cultured personality.

Though the essay "Toward a Modern Humanism" is a distinguished first statement of what its author was ultimately after, it was of course only an introductory and necessarily brief presentation of the larger end he had in mind. The next years of his life — truly an *otium cum dignitate* in the sense of the retired Wilhelm von Humboldt — were spent in ceaseless reading in all fields of human culture in the Columbia University and Frick Art Collection Libraries in New York and later in his excellent local Woodstock Library which soon overflowed with rarer items sent him regularly from the Sterling Memorial Library of Yale University. He was progressively developing the main principles first laid down in the third part of "Academic Illusions". Early drafts of the promised

second volume were soon coming into existence. He was tireless in writing, refining, and revising.

Although he was more than fully occupied with his book on the meaning of culture and cultural personality, he always had his hand on the pulse of the hour and never lost touch with the demands of the moment. Naturally the changing educational scene found him more alert than ever. It was a source of deep joy to him, mingled of course with more anxiety than hope, when he found our leading universities in the waning war years busily engaged in re-examining their curricula. Harvard for example subjected its educational aims to the severest scrutiny and did not hesitate to recommend and make important changes. Martin Schütze was profoundly happy that some American universities and colleges were genuinely concerned about the virtual disappearance of liberal education in the Maelstrom of vocationalism and early specializations. The Harvard Report on General Education in a Free Society is perhaps the best known and most widely heralded published study of this kind. Martin Schütze was among its first and most heedful readers.

He became its sharpest critic. Undisturbed by the general acclaim showered upon this Report he immediately pointed out its serious shortcomings and fundamental errors. There were naturally a few independent critics who expressed their dissatisfaction with the Harvard Report, but none in a more thorough and systematic manner than Professor Schütze. In a series of two brilliant essays written for the *Arizona Quarterly* on the Principles and Aims of General Education he insisted that the Harvard Report failed miserably in one of the most important tasks its able authors had undertaken, namely that of providing a truly General Education. The well-known and well-meaning men who drew up the Report, though vaguely feeling that the humanities were important and did indeed matter, were unable to furnish a philosophical basis for their claim and hope of somehow restoring letters to their rightful place in the whole of the educational process. Martin Schütze recognized quickly that their whole thinking on Education and Culture was almost completely conditioned by the logic of the sciences, which they uncritically and most unhappily proceeded to misapply to the humanities using such unforgivable words as "crooked thinking" when describing poetic and artistic statements.

Professor Schütze's many years of 'basic research' concerning the essence and meaning of the humanities enabled him to recognize the fundamental errors of the Harvard Report almost instantly. It was he who had, after a lifetime of teaching literature in a great university and after rich artistic experience inside and outside the university, laid down the main principles of the structure of the humanities and was now engaged in developing, testing, and applying them. Thus it was a relatively easy matter for a mind so trained in fundamentals not only to point out the tragic mistakes of the Harvard Report but to suggest the remedy forthwith. He had merely to call upon his own fully developed logic of the humanities to straighten out the confusion left in the wake of the Report.

With clarity and conviction he could announce in his own essays on General Education that the humanities are neither merely preparatory



nor subsidiary to the sciences but that they are actually an independent and autonomous universe of discourse with a special logic of their own. Far from being the handmaiden of the sciences they occupy, or ought to occupy, the highest place in general education and culture.

Important and incisive as these essays on Liberal Education are, they were of course merely a by-product of his work on what was emerging ever more clearly as his *magnum opus* the general theory of culture.

It is a matter of deep satisfaction to be able to report that this Theory of Culture, the logical continuation and elaboration of principles first stated in "Academic Illusions", was virtually completed when death removed the author from the familiar scene of his labor of love. He himself felt that he had finally succeeded in presenting in it his definite philosophy of culture and human personality. It is hoped that it will soon be seen through the press. With "Academic Illusions" becoming more and more recognized in its real import by the discerning, its greater and still more significant sequel may be expected to take its place among mankind's more permanent possessions.

Our profession has every right to be proud that the author of these two noteworthy books on Literature and Culture was one of its own most distinguished members. Martin Schütze was a leader in the republic of literary scholars. What is more, he was an interpreter of the larger world of culture. Above all, he was a real person and a great personality.

Yale University

—Heinz Bluhm

### IN MEMORIAM GEORG MINDE-POUET

Professor Georg Minde-Pouet, librarian, scholar and bibliographer, died in Berlin on January 20, 1950, at the age of seventy-eight years. His doctoral dissertation, *Heinrich von Kleist, Seine Sprache und sein Stil*, published in 1897, was written under Erich Schmidt of the University of Berlin, and determined the direction of a large part of his research which gradually established his authoritative position in the field of Kleist studies.

In collaboration with Erich Schmidt and Reinhold Steig, Minde-Pouet brought out the standard edition of Kleist's works and letters in five volumes which were published by the Bibliographisches Institut in 1905. After the death of his two collaborators he prepared a carefully revised edition, of which seven volumes have appeared. Thus far, troubled conditions in Germany have prevented publication of the eighth volume which will contain annotations.

Together with the late Julius Peterson, Minde-Pouet was instrumental in founding and promoting the Kleist-Gesellschaft whose first *Jahrbuch* appeared in 1922. In addition to the *Jahrbücher* he edited a considerable number of important special publications of the Kleist-Gesellschaft.

The deceased was not merely a Kleist scholar of highest distinction but a librarian by profession; his most important position was that of director of the Deutsche Bücherei in Leipzig. Subsequently he became editor-in-chief of the continuation of *Goedekes Grundriß zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung* for the years from 1830 to 1880. This continua-

tion was to be published with the aid of a subvention from the National-Socialistic government, but when the authorities became aware of the large number of Jewish authors and critics to be listed, they threatened to withdraw support unless these were omitted. For a long time Minde-Pouet struggled courageously and ultimately successfully to convince the Nazis that a partial bibliography would be a travesty. The one fascicle of this continuation which has appeared is a tribute to the careful, systematic planning of its editor-in-chief; it is a model of clarity and simplicity in comparison with the involved, complicated arrangement of earlier volumes.

As a bibliographer in the field of German literature Minde-Pouet was probably unequalled in competence and thoroughness. His bibliographies in the *Jahrbücher der Kleist-Gesellschaft* were of enviable objectivity, precision and courteous evaluation.

The death of Minde-Pouet is a matter of grave concern to students of German literature in general and of Heinrich von Kleist in particular. Whether his unpublished writings on Kleist will appear, whether the Kleist-Gesellschaft will now be revived, what the fate of the continuation of *Goedekes Grundriß* will be, are questions of vital importance to Germanists.

Despite his age, difficult living conditions and severe privations, Minde-Pouet's last years were marked by signal industry. They were saddened by the destruction during the war of the Kleisthaus in Frankfurt an der Oder with all its collections and its library, and also by the collapse of the Kleisthaus in Thun, Switzerland. Sorrowfully he wrote to the undersigned: "Der alte Fluch, der über dem Menschen und Dichter Kleist lag und ihn auch über den Tod verfolgt hat, wirkt auch jetzt noch weiter."

Younger Americans working on Heinrich von Kleist repeatedly found in Minde-Pouet, the dean of Kleist scholars, a kindly, sympathetic, helpful adviser, who was generous with his time and his energy. Very few German scholars of his eminence were so ready to offer the loan of their treasured books in order to promote research. In the passing of Georg Minde-Pouet, his friends and the study of Germanics have suffered a great loss.

Wesleyan University.

—John C. Blankenagel

## ERNST WIECHERT

[ † 24. August 1950 ]

Der bekannte deutsche Romanschriftsteller Ernst Wiechert starb am 24. August im Alter von 63 Jahren in Stäfa am Züricher See. Wiechert wurde am 18. Mai in dem Forsthaushaus Kleinort in Masuren in Ostpreußen geboren. Er wirkte für eine Reihe von Jahren als Studienrat in Königsberg und in Berlin.

Mit Ernst Wiechert verliert das deutsche Schrifttum einen seiner populärsten und repräsentativsten Vertreter der deutschen Dichtung der letzten Jahrzehnte, der auch in den schwersten Jahren des Hitleriums Deutschland nicht verließ und während der Hitlerzeit einer der wenigen Mutigen gewesen ist, der die Stimme der Menschheit gegen den nazistischen Wahnsinn zu erheben wagte. Bereits im Sommer 1933 hielt Wie-

chert vor den Studenten der Universität München seine damals Aufsehen erregende Rede „Der Dichter und die Jugend“, in der er erklärte: „Ja, es kann wohl möglich sein, daß ein Volk aufhört, Recht und Unrecht zu unterscheiden, und daß jeder Kampf ihm recht erscheint. Aber solch ein Volk steht schon auf einer sich neigenden Ebene, und das Gesetz seines Unterganges ist schon geschrieben.“ Seine Vorlesungen aus seiner Erzählung „Der weiße Büffel oder von der großen Gerechtigkeit“, in der er den Wandel von Gewalt und Unrecht zu Vertrauen und Recht legendenhaft darstellt, führten später zu seiner Verhaftung und Gefangensetzung im Konzentrationslager Buchenwald. 1945 veröffentlichte Wiechert unter dem Titel „Der Totenwald“ einen erschütternden Bericht über seine Erlebnisse im Konzentrationslager und gab diesem seinem Buche den bezeichnenden Untertitel: „Den Toten zum Gedenken, den Lebenden zur Schande, den Kommenden zur Mahnung“.

In dem für Wiecherts Wesen so aufschlußreichen Erinnerungsbuche „Wälder und Menschen“, erschienen 1936, versucht der Dichter die allein dem Kinde zuteil werdenden vielfältigen Verzauberungen durch Landschaft, Natur und Mitmenschen wieder einzufangen. Die weiten, dunklen Wälder, die kargen Felder, die einsamen Seen und Heiden der masurischen Landschaft bilden den Hintergrund fast seines gesamten Schaffens, und der schwerfällige, zurückhaltende Menschenschlag seiner Heimat gibt den Gestalten seiner Romane das Versonnene, Vergrübelte, Hintersinnige und eine gewisse Lebensbangigkeit, während andererseits auch wieder der preußische Lebensstil in der Urwüchsigkeit, Zähigkeit und Selbstzucht zum Ausdruck kommt, mit der die Menschen in seinen Erzählungen ihrem harten, schicksalsschweren, bedrohten Leben Inhalt und Sinn zu geben suchen. So kämpft der Vikar Andreas Nyland in dem Roman „Der Knecht Gottes Andreas Nyland“ mit verzweifelter und aufopfernder Leidenschaft gegen die trostlose Seelenarmut der Zeit und sucht inbrünstig das Gotteserlebnis im gegenwärtigen Menschen zu erneuern. Er scheitert an seiner Aufgabe. So kämpft der masurische Fährmann Dorskocil in dem Roman „Die Magd des Jürgen Dorskocil“ gegen den düsteren Ruf, in den ihn sein absonderliches, naturnahes, waldversponnenes Wesen gebracht hat, einen Kampf gegen Unverständnis und Tücke, den er nur durch den ganzen Einsatz opferbereiter Liebe seiner Magd besteht. So bemüht sich in dem Roman „Die Majorin“ ein später Heimkehrer aus dem Weltkrieg, der sich dem Leben verloren glaubt, durch harte Arbeit der Natur eine kärgliche Existenz abzurufen, und auch dieses Bemühen gelingt nur durch die Hilfe einer mütterlichen Frau, der Majorin, die den mit der Welt vergräzten Jäger durch mütterliche Fürsorge und behutsame Liebe zum Glauben an das Leben zurückführt.

In den für Ernst Wiechert charakteristischsten seiner Werke — „Vom einfachen Leben“, „Die Jeromin Kinder“, „Jedermann, die Geschichte eines Namenlosen“, „Die kleine Passion“, „Der Armen Kinder Weihnacht“ — steht neben des Dichters Verbundenheit mit Erde und Wald, Tier und Pflanze, Gestirn und Wolke das Erlebnis des Schmerzes im Vordergrund — der Schmerz, den er und die Helden seiner Dichtung nur dadurch ertragen lernen, daß ihnen der große „Sinn und Segen des Geschehens“ aufgeht: Die Neugeburt des Herzens, die den Weg vom

Tode zurück ins Leben und zu den Müttern weist. Vielleicht ist es gerade diese Nähe des Schmerzes und des Todes, dieser Zwiespalt zwischen todesnaher Schwermut und sich schwer durchringendem Lebensglauben gewesen, die Ernst Wiechert als deutschen Schriftsteller die unbedingte Verantwortung seinem Volke gegenüber zum Bewußtsein brachte und das glühende Verlangen in ihm erweckte, seinem Volke den Weg auf seinem dunklen gottverlassenen Kreuzzug zu erklären, diesem so schwer geschlagenen Volke zu helfen und das tausendjährige Vermächtnis einer ehrenvollen Geschichte deutschen Lebens zu retten, wie das in seiner „Botschaft an die Lebenden“ und in seiner „Rede an die deutsche Jugend“ von ihm selber betont worden ist.

Bescheiden, einsam aber unbeirrbar ist dieser Mann seinen Weg gegangen, nur der Stimme seines Gewissens und seinem reinen seelischen Instinkt folgend, und — dies muß bei Ernst Wiechert ganz besonders betont werden — er dachte, er schrieb, er warb, er kämpfte o h n e H a ß.

„Der Krieg begrub mich nicht.

Das Gesetz ergriff mich und ich tat,

Wie das Gesetz es befahl.“

\* Ernst Wiecherts letztes Werk „Missa sine nomine“, ist im Juni d. Js. im Verlag Kurt Desch, München, erschienen. Es behandelt den Weg dreier Brüder, die durch alle Schrecken und Wirrnisse der Kriegs- und Nachkriegsjahre gehen.

*University of Wisconsin.*

—R. O. Röseler

*Wolfram von Eschenbachs Grab gefunden.* Der bekannte deutsche Wolfram von Eschenbach-Forscher, Professor Dr. Kurz, Regensburg, entdeckte in der Pfarrkirche der kleinen Mittelfränkischen Stadt Wolfram-Eschenbach den Grabstein des mittelalterlichen Dichters Wolfram (1170-1220). Unter dem Grabstein befindet sich, wie Professor Kurz mit Sicherheit feststellen konnte, die letzte Ruhestätte des Dichters.

*Bach-Handschriften Ausstellung.* Ungefähr fünfzig autographe Werke von Johann Sebastian Bach aus den Beständen der öffentlichen wissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Berlin (früher Preußische Staatsbibliothek) werden in den Monaten August und September in der Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen gezeigt. Neben etwa 30 Kantaten (darunter die Bauernkantate und die Kreuzstabkantate) sind unter anderem die Partituren zur M-Moll-Messe und zur Johannes-Passion, die Originalstimmen zur Matthäus-Passion, Sonaten und Oratorien ausgestellt worden. Die Ausstellung soll, wie geplant ist, auch im Auslande und hier in Amerika gezeigt werden.

*Hölderlin-Gedenkzimmer.* Zum 180. Geburtstag Hölderlins ist das Gedenkzimmer im Hölderlinturm, der Raum, in dem der Dichter die letzten 37 Jahre seines Lebens von 1806 bis 1843 verbrachte, wieder instandgesetzt und der Öffentlichkeit zugänglich gemacht worden. — Professor Kluckhohn, Tübingen, wurde auf der Jahresversammlung der Hölderlin-Gesellschaft, die aus Anlaß des 180. Geburtstages des Dichters in Tübingen stattfand zum Präsidenten der Gesellschaft gewählt.

*Hans-Watzlik-Gemeinde.* In Regensburg wurde eine Hans-Watzlik-Gemeinde gegründet, die die Freunde und Verehrer des vor einem Jahre verstorbenen sudetendeutschen Dichters sammeln, sein Andenken wachhalten und der Verbreitung seiner Werke dienen will.



*Adalbert-Stifter-Museum.* Die Zerstörung des Stifter-Denkmal in seinem Geburtsort sowie die vieljährige Tätigkeit Adalbert Stifters in Linz hat die Stadtgemeinde Linz in ihrem seit lange gehegten Wunsch bestärkt, in Linz, im Sterbehaus Stifters ein Stifter-Museum zu schaffen, für das dauernd aus Privatbesitz Erinnerungsstücke, teils käuflich erworben teils als Leihgaben und Geschenke der Stadt Linz übergeben, aufgestellt und zur Ausstellung kommen sollen.

*Deutsche Akademie für Sprache und Dichtung.* Das Kollegium der Deutschen Akademie für Sprache und Dichtung wählte in diesem Jahre Dr. Rudolf Pechel zum Präsidenten und Dr. Frank Thiess zum Vizepräsidenten. Achtundzwanzig Schriftsteller und acht Wissenschaftler wurden als Mitglieder neu in die Akademie aufgenommen; die Mitgliederzahl der Akademie stieg damit auf dreiundachtzig. Die Akademie ist 1949 im Goethe-Jahr in der Paulskirche in Frankfurt gegründet worden und sieht ihre Hauptaufgabe in der Pflege der lebendigen deutschen Sprache. Sie hat ihren Sitz in Darmstadt.

*Clara Viebig.* Die Schriftstellerin Clara Viebig vollendete im August in ihrer Wohnung in Berlin-Zehlendorf das 90. Lebensjahr. Die greise Autorin, deren zahlreiche Romane, darunter „Das Kreuz in der Venn“, „Kinder der Eifel“, „Das tägliche Brot“, „Das schlafende Heer“ einst zu den meist gelesenen Romanen in Deutschland gehörten, wurde in Trier geboren, verlebte ihre Jugendjahre in Düsseldorf und in der Heimat ihrer Eltern in Posen; sie schrieb ihre Romane und lebte nach ihrer Verheiratung mit dem Mitinhaber des Egon Fleischer-Verlages, Cohn, in Berlin.

*Albert Sörgel.* Der Autor der bekannten Literaturgeschichte „Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit“ und „Im Banne des Expressionismus“, Albert Sörgel, vollendete in Chemnitz (Sowjetzone) sein 70. Lebensjahr. Er wirkt in seiner Vaterstadt als Professor an der Akademie für Technik.

*Neue „Faust“-Übersetzung.* Eine neue Übersetzung von Goethes „Faust“ ins Italienische ist kürzlich im Utet-Verlag in Turin erschienen. Die Übersetzung, mit umfangreichem Kommentar, stammt von Professor Giovanni Vittorio Amoretti, der von 1936 bis 1943 Direktor des Petrarca-Instituts in Köln war. Amoretti ist jetzt Ordinarius für deutsche Literaturgeschichte an der Universität Pisa.

*Mörike bei Reklam.* Eine Reihe der bekannten und früher weit verbreiteten „Reklam“-Hefte ist neu erschienen, unter diesen auch ein Mörike-Reklam-Bändchen, herausgegeben von Erwin Ackerknecht, Direktor des Schiller-Museums in Tübingen. Geschickt und mit sicherem Geschmack ist in diesem Bändchen von 80 Druckseiten das Beste aus Mörikes dichterischem Werk ausgewählt: einige der Balladen, das reizende Idyll „Der alte Turmhahn“, das groteske Märchen vom „sichern Mann“ und eine reiche Zahl von jenen vielen wahrhaft unsterblichen Versen, mit denen sich der Lyriker Mörike einen Platz neben Goethe, Keller und Rilke in der deutschen Literatur gesichert hat. Eine höchst anschauliche Lebensskizze von wenigen Seiten ist dem Bändchen beigegeben.

*Musikbibliothek der US in Frankfurt.* Die amerikanische Verwaltung in West-Deutschland hat in Frankfurt eine Musikbibliothek eröffnet, in der mehr als 500 Werke amerikanischer Komponisten zusammengestellt worden sind und die deutschen Kennern und Freunden der Musik das Beste darbieten soll, was in den letzten paar Jahrzehnten in Amerika komponiert worden ist. Die Bibliothek ist als Leih-Bibliothek gedacht. Die Sammlung enthält neben zahlreichen Werken George Gershwins die zweite Symphonie von Walter Piston, Aaron Coplands Ballettsuite „Billy the Kid“, Roy Harris „Symphony for Voices“, Gian-Carlo Menottis Oper „The Old Maid and the Thief“ sowie Kompositionen von Samuel Barber, Leonard Bernstein, David Diamond, Wallingford Riegger, Roger Sessions, Virgil Thomson u. a. m.

*Generalfeldmarschall Gneisenaus Gedichtsammlung.* Dr. Erich Albrecht, Professor des Deutschen an der Tulane University, ist der Besitzer einer Sammlung von etwa 120 Gedichten in Deutsch, Französisch, Englisch und Italienisch, die von dem preußischen Generalfeldmarschall Gneisenau zusammengestellt, mit eigener Hand abgeschrieben und durch einige eigene Gedichte bereichert worden ist. Die Sammlung hat seit dem Tode Gneisenaus im Jahre 1831 vergessen in den Archiven gelegen. Auf einer Konferenz an der Staatsuniversität Louisiana ist diese Sammlung zum ersten Male öffentlich gezeigt worden.

*Stefan George.* Am Geburtshaus des Dichters Stefan George in Bingen ist jetzt 17 Jahre nach seinem Tode anlässlich seines 82. Geburtstages eine Gedenktafel — ein Bildnis Georges in Hochrelief — angebracht worden. Im Binger Gymnasium ist ein Stefan George-Zimmer eingerichtet worden, das die gesamten Werke und den gesamten Nachlaß des Dichters beherbergt.

—R. O. R.

The S. S. *Brazil* docked in New York this morning (August 23, 1950) with 255 young German students and teachers aboard. They will be the first half of 508 Germans coming from the three Western Zones and Berlin for a year's study in American colleges under a program established by the Department of State and administered by the Institute of International Education in New York.

Following an orientation course conducted by the Institute at Teachers College, Columbia University, the students will proceed to colleges and universities in all parts of the United States. The program is designed to give them maximum opportunity to get a fully rounded picture of American life — in homes, churches, clubs, public forums and the like.

— Institute of International Education.

## Books Received

- Goethes Faust*, Erich Trunz. Christian Wegner Verlag, Hamburg, 1949. 645 Seiten. Preis: Ganzleinen DM 12.00.
- Goethe and the Modern Age*, Arnold Bergstraesser. Henry Regnery Co., Chicago, 1949. 402 pages.
- J. W. Goethe, "Der Mann von fünfzig Jahren", Marianne Thalmann. Amandus Edition, 1949. 85 pages.
- Goethes "Satyros" und der "Urfaust"*, Ferdinand Josef Schneider. Max Niemeyer Verlag, Halle, 1949. Nr. 12 aus den Hallischen Monographien. 33 Seiten. Preis: geh. RM 2.50.
- Goethe*, Wladimir Weidlé. Columbia Press, 1949. 37 pages. Price: \$ .10
- Goethe and Pharmacy*, George Urdang. American Institute of the History of Pharmacy, Madison, Wis., 1949. 76 pages.
- Southwest Goethe Festival*, A Collection of Nine Papers, Gilbert J. Jordan. University Press in Dallas, 1949. 112 pages.
- Schiller*, Melitta Gerhard. A. Francke Verlag, Bern, 1950. 455 Seiten. Preis: S. Fr. 19.50
- Xenion*, Themes, Forms, and Ideas in German Literature, Ernst Feise. The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Md., 1950. 240 pages.
- Deutsche Dichter 1700-1900*, Eine Geistesgeschichte in Lebensbildern. Zweiter Band: Vom Beginn des deutschen Idealismus bis zum Ausgang des Realismus, Emil Ermatinger. Verlag Huber and Co., Frauenfeld, 1950. 596 Seiten. Preis: gbd. S. Fr. 28.00
- Bekennende Dichtung*, Zwei Dichterbildnisse: Ricarda Huch und Hermann Hesse, Reinhard Buchwald. S. Hirzel Verlag, Stuttgart, 1949. 87 Seiten. Preis: gbd. DM 4.00
- Schiller and Wagner*, A Study of their Dramatic Theory and Technique, Marie Haefliger Graves. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 128 pages.
- Romantische Ironie nach Jean Paul und Solger*, Werner T. Miermann. New York University, 1949.
- Die Weltanschauung der deutschen Aufklärung*, Hans M. Wolff. A Francke Verlag, Bern, 1949. 269 Seiten. Preis: geh. S. Fr. 14.00
- Fritz von Unruh*, Alvin Kronacher. Rudolf Schick Publishing Co., New York. 64 pages.
- The Little Library of Liberal Arts*, Numbers 3, 11, 15, and 16: "Perpetual Peace" by Immanuel Kant, 52 pages, 35 cents; "The Use and Abuse of History" by Friedrich Nietzsche, 97 pages, 40 cents; "On World-Government" by Dante Alighieri, 62 pages, 40 cents; "Fundamental Principles of the Metaphysic of Morals" by Immanuel Kant, 80 pages, 50 cents. Oskar Piest, General Editor.
- Philosophen der Gegenwart*, Fünfzig Bildnisse, Arthur Hübscher. R. Piper und Co. Verlag, München, 1950. 176 Seiten.
- Die Kunst im Wandel der Zeitalter*, Die Gesetzlichkeit ihrer Entfaltung, Ottmar Kerber. W. Kohlhammer Verlag, Stuttgart, 1949. 340 Seiten.
- Leopold Ranke*, The Formative Years, Theodore H. Von Laue. Princeton University Press, 1950. 230 pages. Price: \$4.00
- Germany 2000 Years*, Kurt F. Reinhardt. The Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee, Wis., 1950. 765 pages. Price: \$8.50
- Eine Uredda*, Untersuchungen und Texte zur Frühgeschichte der eddischen Götterdichtung, Hermann Schneider. Max Niemeyer Verlag, Halle, 1948. 119 Seiten. Preis: RM 5.20
- The Experimental Didactics of Ernst Otto*, Emory E. Cochran. Walter De Gruyter, Berlin, 1950. 157 pages.

- Amerika im deutschen Gedicht*, Sammlung deutscher Gedichte von 1774-1945, Max Rohrer. Philipp Otto Röhms Verlag, Stuttgart. 176 Seiten. Preis: gbd. RM 2.00
- Hier in der Zeit*, Gedichte, Hans Egon Holthausen. R. Piper und Co. Verlag, München, 1949. 68 Seiten.
- In den silbernen Nächten*, Gedichte, Hans Wolff. Theo. Gaus' Sons Publishing Co., New York, 1950. 44 Seiten.
- Auferstehung*, Ein bairisches Osterspiel, Max Dingler und Olaf Gulbransson. Münchener Buchverlag, Hans Hohenester und Co., München, 1950. 56 und 16 Seiten.
- Fruit Among the Leaves*, An Anniversary Anthology, Appleton-Century-Crofts Inc., New York, 1950. 536 pages.
- Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland*, Twenty-seventh Report, 1950, Baltimore, Md. 80 pages.
- Das Jahr des Heiles*, Pius Parsch. Volksliturgisches Apostolat, Klosterneuburg bei Wien. 734 Seiten.
- Kurze deutsche Grammatik*, Auf Grund der fünfbändigen deutschen Grammatik von Hermann Paul, Heinz Stolte. Max Niemeyer Verlag, Halle, 1949. 456 Seiten. Preis: gbd. RM 14.20
- Grundlegung einer Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, Theodor Frings. Max Niemeyer Verlag, Halle, 1950. 129 Seiten. Preis: gbd. RM 6.60
- A Word-Index to the Poems of Walter Von Der Vogelweide*, R-M. S. Heffner and W. P. Lehmann. University of Wisconsin Press, 1950. Price: \$1.85
- Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten Neuhochdeutschen Prosastils*, Ein kritischer Versuch, Emmy Kerkhoff. F. van Rossen Verlag, Amsterdam, 1950. 240 Seiten. Preis: gbd. fl 9.80
- Geschichte und Kritik der Lehre von den Satzgliedern in der deutschen Grammatik*, Hans Glinz. A. Francke Verlag, Bern, 1948. 84 Seiten.
- A German-English Dictionary*, Austin M. Patterson. John Wiley and Sons, New York 1950. 541 pages. Price: \$5.00
- An Analytical Bibliography of Modern Language Teaching*, Vol. III: 1937-1942, Clara Breslove King and Clare Balhuff. Edited by Robert Herndon Fife. Columbia Press, New York, 1949. 549 pages. Price: \$5.50
- Goethes "Faust"*, A Complete German-English Vocabulary, R-M. S. Heffner, Helmut Rehder, W. F. Twaddell. D. C. Heath and Co., Boston, 1950. 177 pages. Price \$1.60
- Grammar for Reading German*, K. Roald Bergethon. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1950. 202 pages. Price: paper bound \$1.50

## BOOK REVIEWS

**Existentialismus und Wertphilosophie,**  
*Karl Jaspers und Heinrich Rickert. Gustav Ramming. A. Francke AG. Verlag, Bern 1948. (Diss. Zürich.)*

Der Vergleich von Karl Jaspers mit dem zwanzig Jahre älteren Heinrich Rickert — „ein sprachphilosophischer Vergleich,“ wie der Untertitel der Züricher

Dissertation ursprünglich lautete — ist zweifellos auch für den Literaturwissenschaftler interessant und aufschlußreich. Rickert kam von der Literaturgeschichte her und hat sich auch später auf diesem Gebiet eindringlich betätigt, besonders in seinem Buch über Goethes *Faust*. Jaspers ging von der Psychiatrie in die Philosophie über und kann schon wegen seines Bu-



ches über Nietzsche vom Literaturhistoriker ebenfalls nicht übersehen werden. Ferner sucht er als Existenzphilosoph das im *Wesen* zu erfassen, was Dichter im *Individuellen* darzustellen sich bestreben.

Ehe der Verfasser sein eigentliches Thema angreift, stellt er einen Abriss der Lebensläufe der beiden Philosophen und einen Vergleich ihrer Lehren in Hinsicht ihrer Entwicklung und Methoden voran. Berührungspunkte sind vorhanden: „Beide sind Gegner des Positivismus . . . und in der Betonung des Irrealen gegenüber der bloßen Faktizität einig“ (22). „Ein anderer gemeinsamer Ausgangspunkt ist Nietzsche“ (23). Beide streben ferner nach „interessefreiem Erkennen“ (24). „Beide gehen auf Kant zurück“ (24) und sind Bewunderer Max Webers (25). Von diesen Ausgangspunkten gehen aber die Wege von Rickert und Jaspers auseinander und führen zu verschiedenen Entscheidungen. Rickert ergreift die „wissenschaftliche Philosophie als Beruf“ (27), was eine „radikale Trennung von Beruf und Leben zur Folge“ hat (28). Jaspers will sich nicht beschränken, will Leben und Erkennen nicht trennen, er glaubt an die Möglichkeit „unendlichen Verstehens und grenzenlosen Wahrheitswollens“ ohne in die Gefahr geraten zu müssen, seine Persönlichkeit an das bloß Allgemeine zu verlieren (29 f.). Rickert will „logisch begründete Wahrheit für alle denkenden Menschen“ geben (34). Jaspers erwartet von der Philosophie „Impulse, Werttafeln, Sinn und Ziel des Menschenlebens, mit einem Wort: Weltanschauung“ (35). Statt der wissenschaftlichen Philosophie verlangt er prophetische Philosophie (35). Rickert behauptet, „daß die Wissenschaft Weltanschauung von solcher Art vollständig und in jeder Hinsicht nicht zu geben vermag“ (36). Jaspers dagegen wirft der wissenschaftlichen Philosophie gerade ihre Begrenztheit vor, er ist sich dessen bewußt, „daß die Welt im Bewußtsein überhaupt . . . nicht alles ist“ (40). Er stößt daher in allen Richtungen bis zur Grenze vor und „von dieser Grenze, an der für Wissenschaft das von ihr Ausgeschiedene nicht mehr als es selbst gewußt, nicht einmal mehr gefühlt werden kann, lassen wir uns in Existenz-erhellung und Metaphysik ansprechen“ (40).

Wahrheit ist für Jaspers nicht eindeutig wie für Rickert. Während für diesen der Sitz der Wahrheit das logische Ur-

teil ist, das im Satz des Widerspruchs gegründet ist, will Jaspers das menschliche Sein erfassen, also Widersprüchliches, er sucht „möglichst viel zu verstehen, um zu verstehen, was nicht verständlich ist“ (42). Für Jaspers gibt es eine vielfältige Wahrheit aus den vier Weisen des Umgreifenden, durch die uns das Sein gegenwärtig wird: Dasein, Bewußtsein überhaupt, Geist und Existenz (nicht „Sein selbst“, wie der Verfasser angibt [41]). Diese Wahrheitsauffassung von Jaspers hätte im Anschluß an Rickerts Wahrheitsbegriff (34 und 55) scharf herausgehoben werden sollen. Dasselbe gilt für den Begriff der Wirklichkeit. Was Wirklichkeit für Rickert bedeutet wird zitiert (63). Für Jaspers wäre das Gleiche angebracht gewesen, wenn es auch nicht auf eine Formel zu bringen ist. (Cf. seine Vorlesung „Wirklichkeit“ in *Existenzphilosophie*, Berlin 1938, S. 55 ff.) Das wäre gerade auch für das Problem seiner sprachlichen Umschreibung und ihrer Tendenz zur Paradoxie fruchtbar gewesen. (Jaspers: „Die Form der Sprache, in der das fraglose Sosein des Wirklichen aussprechbar wird, muß die Gestalt eines Denkens sein, das zugleich aufhört zu denken.“ *Ibid.* S. 73.)

Das verschiedene Verhältnis der beiden Philosophen zur Sprache ergibt sich vor allem aus der verschiedenen Auffassung von Wahrheit und Wirklichkeit. Rickert betont: „nur Aussagen tragen in der Wissenschaft“ — die ja auf dem Satz des Widerspruchs beruht — „einen Wahrheitscharakter“ (55). Sein Ziel ist daher eine „verständliche und eindeutige Sprache“ zum Zweck „übertragbarer Erkenntnis“ (62). Für Jaspers ist echte Wahrheit nicht an Aussagen gebunden, wohl aber an „Mitteilung“, die mehr ist „als nur die Sprache der Worte“ (55). Der Satz des Widerspruchs hat für Jaspers „seine absolute Gültigkeit verloren.“ Gerade „wo Widerspruch ist, da ist der Stachel, das Interesse“ (66). Jaspers greift daher zur Methode des Umschreibens mit gelegentlichen neuen Wortbildungen, statt zu Rickerts ständig verschärfter begrifflicher Formulierung, um „das Unsagbare auszudrücken und in indirekter Aussage an den Leser zu appellieren, sich selbst das Gemeinte zu erarbeiten“ (67). Denn, zitiert der Verfasser aus Jaspers, „was philosophisch anzeigt, appelliert, beschwört, innwerden läßt, gegenwärtig macht“ (man achte auf die ständigen Umschreibungen), „das wird, wenn es

in der bloßen Verstandesform, wie Wissensinhalt behandelt wird, gerade den Gehalt, der im Philosophieren gemeint war, verlieren . . . Ich kann von dem, woraus ich bin und lebe, nur sprechen, indem ich es im Gesprochenen auf eine begreifliche Weise verfehle und dadurch indirekt offenbare“ (67 f.).

„Die Eindeutigkeit opfert er (Jaspers) dem lebendigen Denken, während bei Rickert gerade das Umgekehrte stattfindet“ (76). Diese gegensätzliche Haltung der beiden Philosophen zur Sprache wird im einzelnen unter ständiger Anführung von Zitaten gut ausgeführt. Schließlich untersucht der Verfasser, ob sie jemals zu einem direkten „Gespräch“ kommen, d. h. zu einer gegenseitigen, klärenden Aussprache. Eine solche ist – abgesehen von ihrer Stellungnahme zu Max Weber – nicht festzustellen, nur einige Beispiele für „indirektes Gespräch“ kann der Verfasser wiedergeben (88 ff.).

Gegenseitige Polemik bleibt allgemein. Rickert spricht im Anschluß an Nietzsche und Kierkegaard von „angeblich ‚überwissenschaftlichen‘ Köpfen, die . . . mit mehr oder weniger ‚Geist‘ um die vieldeutigen, aber gerade deswegen bei Dilettanten so beliebten Schlagworte ‚Leben‘ und ‚Existenz‘ kreisen“ (90). Jaspers hingegen greift diejenige Philosophie an, „welche einfach und durchsichtig werden möchte durch bloß intellektuelles Denken in einer Fachwissenschaft, die sich diesen stolzen Namen gibt.“ In Wirklichkeit unterliege sie „dem Verhängnis, gerade die philosophische Einfachheit stets vernichten zu müssen“ (90). Sie gebe „dem, der Lebenssinn will, Stein statt Brot“ (87).

Der Verfasser tritt zum Schluß für den Willen zur Verständigung ein und beklagt es, daß die beiden Philosophen nicht zu einem „Gespräch“ gekommen sind, untersucht aber nicht, ob die Möglichkeit einer Verständigung besteht. Der Vorwurf des „Absolutheitsanspruchs“ (94) hätte gegen Jaspers nicht erhoben werden sollen, der ja gerade diesen als „Form der Unphilosophie“ brandmarkt (z. B. in *Der philosophische Glaube*, Zürich 1948, S. 129).

Die Arbeit ist mit großer Einsicht durchgeführt, wobei die Darstellung von Jaspers' Philosophie und Sprachbehandlung sicher den schwierigeren Teil der Untersuchung ausmachte. Sie wird ständig durch klug ausgewählte Zitate gestützt. Zu denen über das Verhältnis der

beiden Philosophen zur Sprache hätten ergänzend vielleicht noch mehr Beispiele der verschiedenen Sprachbehandlungen in Bezug auf bestimmte Probleme treten können, z. B. im Anschluß an das Zitat aus Jaspers über die drei Sprachen (70) eine Illustration seiner Umschreibung von Chiffren. Hier wird sein Gebrauch der Sprache für den Literatur- und Kunstwissenschaftler besonders interessant. Denn Kunst ist nach Jaspers „Sprache aus dem Lesen der Chiffreschrift“ (*Philosophie*, 2. Aufl., Berlin 1948, S. 840).

—Hans Jaeger

Indiana University.

### Die Wiederkunft des Dionysos,

J. H. W. Rosteutscher. Bern, Verlag A. Francke, 1947. 266 Seiten.

Außer seinem prächtigen Titel hat dieses Buch noch zwei Vorzüge: es beruht auf großer Belesenheit in bedeutenden Werken, und es handelt von dem tiefsten und brennendsten Problem, das die westliche Welt seit hundertfünfzig Jahren bewegt und erschüttert, nämlich dem religiösen Problem. Kaum hatte die Aufklärung den Menschen zur Skepsis gegenüber dem christlichen Dogma und zur Loslösung vom traditionellen Glauben erzogen, als sich schon das Bedürfnis nach einer religiösen Erneuerung geltend machte. Diese Erneuerung konnte und wollte nicht zu dem zugleich anthropomorphen und transzendenten Monotheismus der jüdisch-christlichen Tradition zurückkehren, sondern sie suchte ihr Heil in einem mystischen, immanenten Pantheismus. Das heißt, es wurden Versuche unternommen, sowohl dem modernen Begriff einer autonomen materiellen Wirklichkeit wie der gesteigerten Geistigkeit des modernen Menschen gerecht zu werden und sie in einer Lehre von religiöser Tiefe und Glaubwürdigkeit zusammenzuschmelzen. Die gefühlsmäßige Verehrung des einen, persönlichen Gottes sollte durch die Erkenntnis des Göttlichen ersetzt und zugleich das Unbewußte in Natur und Mensch in steigendem Maße „romantisieren“ (das heißt in Novalis' Sprachgebrauch: bewußt gemacht) werden. Diese Versuche einer Religionsbildung oder -umbildung sind gescheitert, sie sind bloße Philosophien geblieben. Sie haben nicht bindend und erziehend gewirkt, und soweit sie sich im ethischen und tätigen Leben der Völker überhaupt auswirkten, haben sie (in oft willkürlich vergrößerter oder entstellter Form) eher Schaden als

Nutzen gestiftet. Die Gründe des Versagens sind vielfältig, vieldeutig und umstritten.

Rosteutscher's Buch krankt an dem Grundübel, daß er die Ausgangssituation der von ihm behandelten Epoche zwar gelegentlich nennt, aber nicht genügend würdigt. Die Aufklärung hatte nicht nur befreiend sondern, wie alle Befreiungen, auch zerstörend gewirkt, und es mußten deshalb Versuche zu neuen religiösen Bildungen und Bindungen entstehen. Für Rosteutscher sind diese Versuche jedoch willkürliche wenn nicht gar böartige Abfälle von dem moralischen Vatergott und Rückfälle in barbarische Zeiten, Rückwendungen zu amoralischen Muttergöttern oder triebhaften Sohngöttern. Er identifiziert das Christentum in allzu vereinfachender Weise mit Rationalität, Bewußtheit und ethischer Disziplin, und er übersieht völlig die scharfe Kritik, die sowohl das ältere Christentum wie christliche Denker von Kierkegaard bis zu Karl Barth und Reinhold Niebuhr am Rationalismus geübt haben. Auf diese Weise wird es ihm möglich, jeden Hinweis auf das Dämonische im Dasein bei neueren Dichtern als dionysische Zerstörungs- und Todeslust aufzufassen, als ob nicht jede große Philosophie und Religion (die christliche zumal) mit den furchtbaren und vernichtenden Kräften des Lebens ebenso gerechnet hätte wie mit den gütigen und erhaltenden.

Schlimmer noch ist ein zweites Übel des Buches, nämlich die schier grenzenlose Verwirrung der Begriffe und des Denkens. Was hier zusammengebraut ist aus Religions- und Literaturgeschichte, aus Anthropologie, Soziologie und Psychologie, aus Bachofen, Le Bon, Mannheim, Freud und Jung, mag destillieren und klären wer will. Der geduldige Leser muß sich dann fragen, ob das Triebleben bei genialen Menschen wirklich besonders stark ist, ob Verdrängungen nun eigentlich wünschenswert sind oder nicht, ob das unbewußte Geistesleben stärker und wichtiger ist als das bewußte, ob jeder jetzt Lebende wirklich um das Jahr 1000 zwanzig Millionen Ahnen hatte, und ob diese „Tatsachen“ wirklich die Identität der geistigen Konstitution eines Volkes erklären. Der Geduldige mag sich dann weiter fragen, wie es mit Goethe steht, der im ersten Teil des Buches mehrfach (und recht flüchtig interpretiert) angeführt wird, der aber im Register der Jünger des neuen Dionysos fehlt. Er wird sich den heillosen Miß-

brauch des Wortes „Urphänomen“ gefallen lassen müssen, und er wird bei jedem der unzähligen Zitate prüfen, ob es eine Erkenntnis oder eine Lehre ausspricht. Der Verfasser selbst macht diesen grundlegenden Unterschied nicht und verwirrt daher völlig, was den von ihm behandelten Dichtern und Denkern als wahr, und was ihnen als wünschenswert erschien. Die größte Geduldsprobe aber bedeuten die viel zu reichlichen Zitate. Der zweite Teil des Buches besteht überwiegend aus Zitaten, und man weiß oft nicht, was sie beweisen sollen, in welchem Zusammenhang zueinander sie stehen, ja selbst, worauf ein zitiertes Pronomen sich bezieht (z. B. Seite 194 oben). Bei den Zitaten aus Freud auf Seite 197 und 201 muß es sich um einen verschiedenen Begriff der Lust handeln, aber dieser Unterschied wird nicht erklärt. Eine Kette von Zitaten, durch „so“ oder „aber“ lose verknüpft, kann die gedankliche Verarbeitung und zusammenhängende Darstellung durch den Verfasser nicht ersetzen.

Useners *Götternamen*, Barzuns *Romanticism and the Modern Ego*, F. J. Hoffmann's *Freudianism and the Literary Mind* und Aldous Huxleys neuere Bücher, die uns endlich erklärt haben, daß Mystik nichts Verworrenes, Gefährliches oder Gefühlsmäßiges sondern gerade die geistigste Religionsform ist, hätten dem Verfasser viele Mißverständnisse erspart.

—Heinrich Henel

University of Wisconsin.

### Goethes Faust,

Erich Trunz. Christian Wegner Verlag, Hamburg, 1949. *Faust erster und zweiter Teil und Urfaust*, Seite 1-420; *Goethes Äußerungen über seinen Faust*, Seite 421-460; *Anmerkungen des Herausgebers*, Seite 461-490; *Kommentar*, Seite 491-637; *Bibliographie der Faust-Literatur*, Seite 638-645. Preis: Ganzleinen DM 12.00

Der Verlag Christian Wegner, Hamburg, hat im Goethejahr mit einem großen Unternehmen begonnen: Eine Goethe-Ausgabe ist im Erscheinen begriffen, die vierzehn Bände umfassen soll, jeder der Bände an 600 Seiten stark. Der vorliegende erste Band, Goethes „Faust“, bringt Faust I, Faust II und den Urfaust in ihren Erstfassungen. Es folgen in dem Bande „Äußerungen Goethes über seinen Faust“, ein wertvoller Beitrag; er gibt eine Belichtung des Werkes von Goethe selbst gegeben, die so unendlich viel zur

Deutung des Faust beiträgt und die man sich sonst mühsam zusammenstellen mußte und nun hier auf vierzig Druckseiten gedrängt vor sich hat. Die „Anmerkungen“ des Herausgebers: Der Faust-Stoff – Die Entstehung – Bild der Welt – Symbolik – Klang und Wort – zeugen von einem klugen und umsichtigen Bemühen, dem Leser Goethes Dichtung zu erschließen und ihm die Größe dieses Werkes zum Verständnis zu bringen. Der hierauf folgende Teil „Kommentar“ von annähernd 150 Seiten erläutert einerseits die vielen Einzelheiten, die erklärungsbedürftig sind, andererseits gibt er Hinweise zum Verstehen und Deuten des Gesamtwerks und seiner Szenen, insbesondere des zweiten Teils. Dieser Kommentar ist eine sorgfältige, ausführliche und alle wesentlichen Forschungsergebnisse zusammenfassende und daher außerordentlich wertvolle Beigabe zu dieser Faust-Ausgabe. Man findet immer wieder Verweise auf Gundolf, Kommerell, v. Wiese, Stöcklein, Beutler, Korff, Heusler, Witkowski,

Hohlfeld, Obenauer und andere moderne Faust-Interpreten bis in die Zeitschriftenliteratur hinein, die in ihrer Vielheit nur noch wenigen Spezialforschern übersehbar ist. Eine bis in die jüngste Gegenwart reichende „Bibliographie der Faust-Literatur“ bildet den Abschluß des Bandes.

Es ist eine der besten und sicherlich eine der vollständigsten Faust-Ausgaben, die der Christian Wegner Verlag mit diesem Bande auf den Büchermarkt bringt: Sorgfältige Textgestaltung, solide Gelehrsamkeit des Herausgebers gepaart mit weitgehender Kenntnis der Faust-Literatur, geschickte Auswahl und kluge Verarbeitung des umfangreichen Materials machen diese Ausgabe zu einer der wertvollsten Beiträge zur Goethe-Literatur, die uns das Goethe-Jahr gebracht hat – und machen diesen Band für jeden, der sich eingehender mit „Faust“ befassen will, unentbehrlich

—R. O. Röseler

*University of Wisconsin.*

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Volume XLII

October, 1950

Number 6

Music in Goethe's Life / Guido Kisch .....	243
Aus Goethes Briefen an Zelter .....	252
The Lay of Albwin and the Lay of Iring / Lee M. Hollander .....	253
Two Literary Sources of "Immensee" / E. O. Wooley .....	265
Problematik und Probleme der Kafka-Forschung / Heinz Politzer ....	273
Modern Language Study – A Necessity In Our Time / R. O. Röseler .....	281
News and Notes:	
In Memoriam Martin Schütze / Heinz Bluhm .....	290
In Memoriam Georg Minde-Pouet / John Blankenagel .....	295
Ernst Wiechert [† 24. August 1950] / R. O. Röseler .....	296
Books Received .....	301
Book Reviews .....	302